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## Selections.

### THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

From The American Baptist.

THE President has once more interposed in behalf of slavery. With his strong arm he raises the head of the criminal from its dying pillow, and administers a restoring cordial; yet mingled with alarming warnings of its probably impending fate. We are confident the President has no real love for the expiring culprit, and yet, in deference to mourning friends who stand around the bedside, his good nature leads him to use the language of seeming pity. He deprecates the sudden death of the giant wrong. He fears it would "rend or wreck" something. He would have the wrong abandoned very gradually; gently, as the dews of heaven come, and without any seeming reproaches, or even intimation that aught of guilt had been incurred by enslaving our brother man. He is not to be restored to his rights except on certain conditions; viz., that it shall be done at some distant day, for which he shall quietly and submissively wait the pleasure of white men; and, secondly, that as fast as these rights are given, the grateful freedman shall relinquish home and country, and betake him to some unoccupied portion of earth's territory, where he may begin life anew, and work his way, through poverty, hardship and acclimating diseases, upward to comfort and competence, or downward to a premature grave. O sacred name of Justice! Is this all the idea we have of thee, after eighteen centuries of training under the religion of "peace and good will to men"? Is it possible that a Christian ruler, bound by the ordinances of heaven to execute strict and impartial justice to all, has no higher sense of his responsibilities to the God whose minister he is, than thus to balance human expediency against the everlasting principles of right? It almost seems like sacrilege to compare such a tardy and partial relaxation of oppression's grasp to the "gentle dews of heaven." Oh no; desecrate not these sweet words by applying them to any of our compromises with the "sum of all villanies." Wait till we realize the sublime and beautiful idea of universal freedom and equality, on which our fathers laid the foundation of Liberty's temple, and then we may compare our legislation to the broad sunshine and the generous, gently falling dews of heaven.

Before the spread of Christianity in Britain, the old Druidical superstition held the same iron sway over all the institutions of the land, that slavery now holds with us. No one dared to violate its sanctities or question its prerogatives. Unexpectedly the high priest, armed and mounted on horseback, appeared before the assembled thousands at a great festival, and riding at full speed, hurled his spear against the temple of their gods. A momentary thrill of horror at the rash deed, and the spell of the old tyranny vanished forever. Oh for some Druidical madman to perform the like service for our national idol! We are sorry the high priest of our Republic is not to have the honor of this daring deed. But since he declines the glorious opportunity, history is reaching up her fingers to write other and nobler names. The shafts of Fremont and Hunter, though arrested in their flight, will yet find their way to the heart of the grim monster. Legally, they have done so already. The President says Gen. Hunter's act is "altogether void." We must pause a moment before accepting this declaration of our honored Chief Magistrate. It is his province to give orders to his commanders; it is not his province to decide on the legality of their actions. That belongs to the courts. The President's opinion as to the effect of Gen. Hunter's order on the status of the blacks in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida is worth just as much, and no more, than if it had been the opinion of a private individual. When the war is over, and civil law once more resumes its proper force, this question will come up for decision in the United States Courts. On that decision, provided the rebellion stops where it is, will hang the destiny of *one million human beings*. It is surprising that the President should have so lightly and hastily pronounced the act of freedom void. If he has made a wrong decision, he has, in fact, decreed the enslavement of a million of freemen. That they were legally made free, we entertain no doubt. In the language of the Washington *Republican*, "we hold it to be a matter of the clearest and plainest law, that Generals in the field, subject always to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, *can do any act which he could do* if he took the field in person, and that they *have the same right to liberate slaves*, under the war power, which he possesses." The difference between them, continues *The Republican*, is this; "that whereas he can control them, there is no higher authority which can control him. But *in the absence of such controlling orders* from him, Generals can do anything which he could do; and where the thing done *is of a nature to vest rights in third parties*, HE CANNOT UNDO IT."

Never was there a plainer case. The rights of freedom have been vested in a million of people, formerly known as slaves; where, we ask, is the authority to take those vested rights away? Does such a power rest in the President? Then he can reduce any other million of his fellow-citizens to bondage, and decree that they shall be the slaves of some favored class; a power of despotism to which we could scarcely find a parallel in the world's history. The idea that President Lincoln possesses the power to revoke the acts of his Generals, when such revocation involves the reënslavement of a million freemen, is too monstrous to require argument. The only question is, Has the deed been done? The President does not deny that he himself has the power to liberate slaves, if he deems it necessary; he reserves that question for his own decision as circumstances may present themselves. That he has the right will scarcely be questioned; it was unanswerably maintained by John Quincy Adams; in fact, to deny it would be to deny the war power altogether. Once liberated, any attempt to touch them is kidnapping; and any officer, from the President downward, who attempts to enslave a freedman, exposes himself to the penalty of the law. If it be not so, law and liberty are empty names. If we have the right to kidnap freemen at home, we have the right to kidnap freemen abroad; and our government occupies the same position of despotic barbarism as ancient Spain, when she first began the accursed work of enslaving men.

The desperate efforts now made to conciliate the slaveholders will not, we are persuaded, be successful. It cannot be that such an ignoring of God and human rights will, under the divine providence, be allowed to prosper. If it should, a darker night than ever awaits our country. Should the rebels submit, according to the expectations of our rulers, and consent to reconstruction, it is the evident intent of government to reinstate slavery in all its ancient power. The President is now instituting government anew in Tennessee and North Carolina. He has appointed military governors, and given them their instructions. Their power is in no wise derived from the State; it is strictly the government of the President, the government of the nation; and what it does is done in a National, and not in a State capacity. If these governors carry out the laws of slavery, they do it in the name of the nation; the whole nation is responsible for it; slavery is nationalized, and the Republican motto of "Freedom national, slavery sectional," is thrown to the winds. How futile for Congress to pass laws that they will not recognize or allow slavery in the Territories, if in military districts, equally under exclusive control of the National government, it protects, encourages, and adopts the system as its own! Is it to give slavery that protection which Jefferson Davis could not afford, that our bayonets gleam along the border, and flash beneath the burning sun that melts down our soldiers on the arid sands of the Sea Islands? Could the gallant Hunter have even imagined that he was sent for the purpose of winning back traitors to a sullen and simulated loyalty, by degrading the American flag to such an unseemly service? He struck, as a soldier should, at the vital point; and when the people of this country have counted up the cost of our temporizing policy; when they count the dead swept off by the fevers of a southern summer; when, after another year of paralyzing exertion and accumulating debt, they find that the spirit of rebellion has only grown more lordly and rampant from the dainties on which it has been fed; then shall we at last be glad to acknowledge the obligations of the Republic to those that would have saved her, and then our President may perhaps search in vain for the open path which he now sees but declines to enter.

### EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.

Baltimore Correspondence of The Evening Post.

THE pro-slavery Union men are caving in on all sides in our State upon Mr. Lincoln's emancipation policy. A friend just returned from Howard and Ann-Arundel Counties suprised me most agreeably by accounts of adhesion to emancipation on the part of the slaveholders of that section. One farmer has lost two out of six of his slaves, and the secessionists in the vicinity have taunted him until he declares he will lose everything he has in preventing them from recovering their fugitive slaves, many of whom are in the District. A *quasi*-Union man, who has lost several of his slaves, called on an ardent Unionist to go with him to Washington, to help him recover his lost ones, but he was refused with a rebuke for his sympathies with the rebellion. The result of the remonstrance was, that the weak-kneed Unionist determined to go for emancipation as the only means of getting anything for those who are left. Howard County abounds in most cruel masters, and they are losing their victims by scores every day. There is a likelihood, as things look now, that there will be a decided falling off in the tobacco crops of Prince George's, so extensive is the exodus of the slaves. A secession woman wanted her husband, who is a warm Unionist, to go to Washington and get a favorite slave of theirs, who had fled from bondage. The master pointedly refused, and told his wife that he was glad his slave had gone, for he should now have some hope of getting to heaven—since the occasion of his constant swearing had ceased; for it seems that he used do little more than swear at his bondman, at the instigation of his wife, who was a hard mistress. So you see the waters are really in motion in this quarter of slavedom. The storm will soon be upon us.

### CONFISCATION—EMANCIPATION.

GOV. ANDREW of Massachusetts, being officially called on for more soldiers for the Union armies, responded in substance that the people of Massachusetts would furnish them slowly if the war was to be waged for the perpetuation of slavery, but bountifully if it were to be prosecuted on the basis of Gen. Hunter's order. For this answer, he is very roundly abused as disloyal by the whole Democratic and Conservative Press not only, but by the New York *Times*, *The World*, Philadelphia *North American*, etc., etc.

But when Conservatives, like the Representatives of Kentucky, tell Congress and the country that, if the war for the Union is to be made a war upon slavery they will urge their constituents to join them in fighting on the side of the rebellion, none but Republicans characterize the threat as disloyal or as insolent. It seems to be tacitly agreed that to threaten to rebel in the interest of slavery is eminently loyal, constitutional and patriotic. Were not the existence of such threats everywhere used as arguments against the election of Lincoln? Did not thousands in this city vote to humor the slaveholders in that election because they would turn traitors and destroy the Union if they were thwarted? And if it was right to use and defer to such menaces in order to carry an election, why not to shape the policy of the government afterward? Did not *The Herald* fairly blaze, throughout the canvass of 1860, with exhortations to our citizens to vote against and defeat Lincoln in order to placate the wrath of the Southrons and prevent their rising to overthrow the government? And if that logic was good in 1860, why not, when used to the same end, in 1862?

For our own part, we protest against all government by menace, all electioneering appeals to general or sectional cowardice. We would have no man's vote at the polls or in Congress, influenced by threats or fears. We obey the requirements of the government, not without question or criticism, but with the loyalty of freemen. And, whether Congress shall pass an emancipation bill or not, or the President issue an emancipation order or not, we stand for the most unflinching and enthusiastic support of the war for the Union.

Not that we consider the attitude of the government toward slavery unimportant—on the contrary, we know that this is the key of the position. Were Mr. Crittenden President, to-day, with a subservient Congress, he could evolve from this struggle but one of these two results: 1. The substantial triumph of the rebellion; or, 2. The downfall of the Slave Power. Turn and twist as you may, no power short of Omnipotence could devise and achieve a third.

Look at the position of Gen. Butler, with a gallant and victorious army, an invincible flotilla, in quiet possession of the lower Mississippi and the chief city of the cotton States. He is known to the entire South as a pro-slavery Democrat. Nobody confronts him; no force threatens him; yet he rules just so much of the South as is commanded by his guns—not an inch more. *Slavery* dominates over the rest, and marks for vengeance any one who shall dare show sympathy for the Union cause. He can conquer the rebellion in Louisiana and Mississippi, whenever he is at liberty to call to his aid every loyal Unionist, regardless of color, and not till then.

So with Gen. Hunter in South Carolina. He has hardly a foothold on the mainland of that State. No white South Carolinian has cheered the National flag in the seven months that have seen it waving from the Sea Islands. A few daring negroes have escaped to our encampments—nobody else. But let Gen. Hunter proclaim freedom to all whose hearts and hands are for the Union, and he has a majority of the people of South Carolina on his side to-day. "Military necessity" recognizes this truth; it is political policy alone that ignores it.

Let us be patient. We who stand for emancipation have so clear a case that we can afford to wait. Every march in the rebel region, showing our soldiers who are their friends and who are their enemies, makes some converts to emancipation. Every triumph helps on the good cause. Every defeat, with its rebel treacheries and butcheries, helps it still more.

If our troops escape an ambuscade or surprise, it is almost uniformly through the timely warning given by a "contraband." If they surprise the enemy or take him at a disadvantage, the cause of their success is the same. Our brave soldiers have irradiated this whole contest with prodigies of valor; yet the two most desperate and gallant achievements of the war are those of the negro who recaptured a vessel taken by a Confederate cruiser, killing the prize-crew; and the running of the steamboat Planter out of Charleston harbor by the negro Robert Small.

The blacks have done gallantly what they have been allowed to do. Had the military necessity of their emancipation been admitted and declared at the outset, they would have done a hundred times more. Proclaim emancipation to-morrow, and ask for one hundred thousand of them to serve the Union cause in any manful capacity, and they will very soon report themselves. If the nation thinks best to wait awhile, so, we presume, will they. The moral of this struggle is the inalienable right of man to be treated as a man; and that truth will be vindicated by the result, whether in the reestablishment or the overthrow of the Union.

Let us work and wait. By-and-by, when money grows scarce, and credit droops, and recruiting goes hard, and Southern fevers decimate our armies, it will crawl through the hair matting of the very thickest skulls that we cannot afford to make the rebels a present of four million of people, who only wait to be civilly asked to help us rather than serve our enemies. Then the supreme absurdity, the preposterous folly, of voting to confiscate the other property of the rebels and leave them their slaves, will be manifest even to the dullest and-dimmest vision.

As to confiscation, generally, it has never been much more than a scarecrow, and we presume never will be. Acts of more or less general amnesty almost always follow the suppression of a rebellion. Every rebel understands that, if the revolt succeeds, he may laugh at your confiscation; while, should it fail, he can pretty surely evade it. No act of confiscation will bring present help to the Union cause. Confiscate a rebel's plantation, and it remains where it always was—doing you no good; emancipate his slaves, and they escape to our lines at the earliest moment, to render us such help as they may. Meantime, they cost as much in watching as they are worth. To emancipate, therefore, is to weaken the rebels and strengthen the Unionists at once and evermore; to confiscate may be of some use ultimately, but presently of none.

Never mind. The American people are under treatment. They need to be cured of their malignant hate and scorn of four million of their fellow-countrymen, hitherto held in a worse than Egyptian bondage. The disease is chronic and deep-seated; but the treatment is heroic, and must ultimately prevail. Have faith, be patient, and on with the war for the Union!—*Tribune.*

### BITTER AGAINST THE ABOLITIONISTS.

[The correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, giving an account of an interview with a party of rebels who came within Gen. Halleck's lines under a flag of truce—the party being headed by Col. Jacob M. Thompson, Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior—says:]

THEY were profuse in their expressions of regret that the war should have broken out at all, and particularly bitter against the Abolitionists. "We don't like to fight you Northern men," said Col. Thompson, "it grieves us to think of having to meet men we like as we do you, in battle; we want to fight your Abolitionists. I know," he continued, "you have very few of them here; but if you could collect a regiment of them, I'd like to pick out a regiment of our fire-eaters, and have them brought out face to face in an open field. I'd be willing to abide by the result, go which way it would. But we don't like to have to fight you."

"I do regret one thing," he said again, addressing himself to the officer commanding the pickets of the 17th Ohio, Col. Connell, whom he had known as an old-line Democrat, "and that is, that the old Democratic party is permitting itself to be used by the Abolitionists, and is now absolutely under their control." Col. Connell disputed the proposition. "You'll see how it will be when the war is over," said Col. Thompson. "Even now you can see how Congress is drifting, and the current is sure to set stronger and stronger in the same direction." "But you might have checked the current if your members had stayed in Congress," suggested a bystander. "Oh, no! we might, perhaps, have pushed off the evil day a little further, but that was all. Abolitionism is going to sweep everything before it, just as we foresaw it would. It was just as well to meet the matter now as any time, but we did not expect you Northern Democrats to help swell the Abolition power."

And then followed inquiries almost innumerable, about old friends on the other side. Among others, Col. T. asked after Matt. Martin of Columbus. I told him of his being the Editor of *The Statesman*; and when I added, with a trille of malice aforethought, for which I trust Matt. will forgive me, that up North we accused him of being a pretty fair secessionist for Ohio latitude, "I am very glad to hear it!" exclaimed the Colonel. "Very glad, indeed, I assure you."

The Colonel was anxious to know what Cox's chances for reelection were from the Columbus District. "I know, of course, that he is doing well, but will he get to Congress again?" It was particularly pleasant to be able to assure him that the Legislature was supposed to have stumbled on a wise precaution in that case.

### THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Compiled from Boston papers.

THE anniversary of this Society was held at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, May 27. The attendance was not very large, only about two-thirds of the area and galleries being full at the commencement of the exercises.

Rev. J. C. Webster of Hopkinton, President of the Society, presided, and the exercises were commenced by reading of Scriptures, and a prayer by Rev. Mr. Thurston of Litchfield, Me. The President then read a few letters from gentlemen, regretting their necessary absence, among whom were Prof. Calvin E. Stowe of Andover, and Rev. Mr. Wolcott of Cleveland, Ohio. He continued in a brief address, stating the objects of the Society, and remarking that President Lincoln, in his opinion, really desired to liberate the slaves if he was confident of being sustained by the people.

The following resolutions, offered by Henry T. Cheever of Jewett City, Conn., were then read, and finally adopted:

Resolved, That in common, we believe, with the great body of true Christians throughout this country (and the same, we are satisfied, will be found to hold throughout all Christendom), this Society regards with inexpressible grief the late repudiation by President Lincoln of the wise and necessary Army Order No. 11 of Major-General Hunter, in the Department of the South. And we cannot withhold the conviction, that if the President's repudiation of said emancipation order prevails, history will hold *him* mainly responsible for the protraction of this unparalleled war; and not the anti-slavery Governors of loyal States, like Massachusetts, whose "roads swarm with men," at the call of our patriotic Andrew, eager to fight "with God and human nature on their side," and to fire the hitherto tardy "MAGAZINE" of the rebel enemy.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Society—while the manifest advance of anti-slavery sentiment in the country, during the last year, is matter of devout thanksgiving; and while the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for which we both congratulate the nation and praise God, is worth to the country all the cost of such a dreadful war, seeing that it was not to be had peacefully—there is, at the present time, more need than ever in the nation of thorough Christian principle and activity, to counteract the influence of a timid and temporizing expediency, which has so long been acted upon in Church and State that it has become the habit, both of the national politics and the national religion.

Resolved, That, in our view, national emancipation of the enslaved, because such national emancipation is both just and constitutional, is the only evidence of national repentance of the iniquity of slaveholding which a righteous God can accept, and thereupon lift His scourge from the suffering nation: and, therefore,

Resolved, That it is now more than ever the duty of the Church and of the Ministry to urge such immediate repentance upon the nation and the government, as being both right in itself and necessary for the successful closing up of the war—independently of any proposition of expatriation or of colonization, which are only to be resorted to at the request of the emancipated themselves, and in conformity with a wise plan of Christian benevolence and justice, that shall acknowledge the nation's debt to the entire body of its freemen.

Resolved, That for teachers of religion and morality to argue, as some are at this time arguing, that "what territory slavery now has slavery may keep and curse if it will, but it shall snatch no more," is essentially anti-Christian, and incompatible with loyalty to the Great Head of the Church and King of Nations; and if the same principle were acted upon with reference to other evils and crimes in the world than slavery, there would be an end to all progress and reform whatever.

Resolved, That unanimity among Christians, in regard to the policy to be now pursued by the National government toward the still enslaved and recently emancipated, is so important that a National Convention of American Christians, irrespective of school or sect, at Washington or elsewhere, is to be greatly desired, in order to lay before the government what is the present requisition of Christianity in reference to unconditional emancipation, and in order also to give expression to our well-matured convictions concerning the position which the Church should occupy in the present glorious hour of opportunity offered by God to a guilty nation.

Resolved, finally, That there is no propriety in discussing the question what shall we do with emancipated slaves, or the nation's freedmen, since it is clear that God and their own brawny arms of industry, under the stimulus of wages, and the need which the country has of their labor, are satisfactorily settling that. But, as justly put by an eloquent advocate of the rights of man, and a broad Christian statesman, the question is, "Is there virtue, intelligence, purpose, enough in the North to absorb the barbarism of fifteen States, neutralize it, and survive a united, free, Christian Republic?"

The choir of Rev. Mr. Grimes's Church sung the Star Spangled Banner, after which Rev. Mr. Trask of Fitchburg addressed the audience. He believed that Hunter stock was above par and was going up, and believed also in Abraham Lincoln. The South had been closed to argument on the question of slavery, but cannon had opened it, and balls and bullets were doing what books and arguments couldn't do.

Rev. Mr. Manning of Boston said he had not had much acquaintance with the Church Anti-Slavery Society, except through the newspapers. He did not see the necessity for the Society at the time of its organization, because he thought all might express their opinions upon the platform of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He then said that one ought not to be judged by the Society upon whose platform he stood, but rather by the words and sentiments he uttered. He had been misunderstood, and expected to be. He had been charged with being on the outside, but he thought he had seen the inside of slavery, and cited a fact to show it. He was willing to speak for any Society which was seeking to uncover this great iniquity. But the anti-slavery power of the day was the army. War was unmasking slavery. He had great faith in the President of the United States, and believed down deep in his heart was the conviction that slavery must die. This was intimated in his recent proclamation. He did not think that Hunter issued his proclamation without the knowlenge of the heads of government, and believed that Hunter stock would soon be above par, and that then Mr. Lincoln would invest.

After another song by the choir, Hon. Amasa Walker, of North Brookfield, addressed the audience. He believed that the present contest would never be closed without emancipation or separation. He said we could never whip the South until slavery was abolished, and he hoped we wouldn't, and didn't believe God would let us.

Aaron M. Powell, one of the audience, arose after Mr. Walker's speech and denounced an address delivered by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop before the American Tract Society of New York, as infamous and traitorous. His remarks were received with mingled applause and a few hisses.

The Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we congratulate the country upon the discovery made by the managers of the New York American Tract Society during the last year, that the publication of tracts and books on slavery is "not inconsistent with the catholic basis of said Society." Such a discovery, though made only by the lurid light of the flames of war waged in the interests of slavery, warrants the expectation that it will soon be found out also that publications on the duty of immediate emancipation "are calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians."

The resolution was laid over for discussion at the Business Meeting of the Society in the Meionaon, on Wednesday morning, May 28th, when it was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was then submitted by the Secretary, seconded in a vigorous and eloquent speech by Dr. West, of Boston, and adopted:

Resolved, That this Society hereby offers its warm sympathy to Rev. George Gordon, of Iberia College, Ohio, unjustly sentenced for alleged violation of the Fugitive Slave law to six months' imprisonment in Cleveland Jail; and we commend his refusal to accept a reprieve from President Lincoln in terms that implied him to have been guilty of a crime in doing to a brother man as he would be done by; and this Society fervently prays that, in the annals of the United States the name of Mr. Gordon may be written as the last of the martyrs under the most unjust statute that has ever disgraced a Christian State.

A resolution was also passed, instructing the Committee of award, for the best tract on the question, How shall Northern Christians absolve themselves from all responsible connection with slavery? to offer the same for publication to the Publishing Committee of the Boston American Tract Society.

After a vote of thanks to the choir of Rev. Mr. Grimes's (colored Baptist) Church, for their very acceptable singing, and the reëlection of the officers of last year, the Society adjourned.

### THE REWARD OF LOYALTY.

From The Evening Post.

A PRIVATE correspondent, a trustworthy gentleman, forming part of the advance of our army on the Peninsula, writes, in a note dated "On the Chickahominy, May 24th," "Eleven rebels came across the creek to-day, and gave themselves up, at New Bridge. A private of the Eighth Illinois cavalry was wounded in a little skirmish. Gen. Stoneman saw a negro coming into our lines just after the affair yesterday. *He ordered him off; and between our pickets and the enemy's the fellow was shot.*"

Gen. Stoneman may be a very good cavalry officer; but if he has been guilty of a cold blooded murder like this, he should be tried and cashiered from the army which is disgraced, not less by the stupidity which turns away a man likely to give useful information to the Commanding General, than by such inhumanity. While such unmilitary conduct as this is tolerated in the army, we need not wonder at the secrecy in which the enemy shrouds his movements. Manassas was evacuated before our Generals knew that a regiment had left; and rebel officers captured at Williamsburg say, "Our (rebel) forces were withdrawn by one or two regiments at a time, and concentrated in the vicinity of Richmond. We were nearly two months in evacuating Centreville and Manassas." This we take from a report of conversations with a rebel officer made a prisoner at the battle of Williamsburgh, which now lies before us. Yorktown was evacuated with similar success. From Corinth, too, the rebels have made a skillful escape; and it is reported this morning that they have as silently retreated from before Richmond. It may not conduce to their success to retreat so constantly, but it certainly does not add to the reputation of our Generals, or take away from the duration or expensiveness of the war, to permit them, time and again, to accomplish, with absolute safety, the most delicate of all operations in war.

Suppose Gen. Stoneman had led the advance of Gen. Banks's army. That was saved by a negro who ran into our camp, out of breath, and informed our officers that the enemy were upon them. But Stoneman would have had him shot as he came in. It is well known that these negroes have a more thorough knowledge of the enemy's country than any white men. Their means of getting information are certainly better than those of the average privates in the rebel army. If it is useful at all to get news of the enemy's movements, it would seem that these people should be welcomed. But they are repulsed; sent back, when they come to us at the risk of their lives, and in this instance shot, for efforts to serve the cause of the Union.

It is perhaps hard to blame a man of small brains or sense, for feeling and showing, under all circumstances, a jealous enmity towards black men. The feeling in such persons is not without cause. It is certainly to be doubted if many black men would stultify themselves by refusing to accept information from whites, if the situation were reversed. But such persons should not be put in the advance of our armies. They should not be there at all. We run too great risks by tolerating such criminal folly. Congress should pass a law regulating this matter. It may be humiliating to some army officers to be ordered to get information where they can best get it; but this humiliation seems to be necessary. Let it be made a law that any man who serves the Union cause in any way shall be rewarded; and that no man who approaches our lines shall be sent away before his business is known. If a negro proves to be a spy, let him be shot; but if, as is much more likely, he comes to us with information, let it be enacted that he shall at least have his freedom. The black pilot Small was not sent back when he brought the steamer Planter out of Charleston.

### MISJUDGED LENIENCY TO REBELS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

FALMOUTH, Va., May 21, 1862.

ONE tires of bridge-building, sickens of standing guard over rebel property for the benefit of owners who are bearing arms against him in the Confederate armies. The proclamation, "We come to protect, not to destroy you," has grown stale by repetition; it has fallen so often upon contumacious rebel ears without bringing back the faintest echo of loyalty or good feeling, that our soldiers are tired of hearing it uttered—loth to further carry the merciful edict into execution. I scarcely blame them, for it was not for this that they enlisted. They came to put down the rebellion, not to pat the backs of those engaged in it. When we first entered Fredericksburg, the inhabitants were in terror; they knew that they deserved punishment, and expected it would be meted out to them unsparingly. The consequence was that they were humble, thankful, to know that their lives were to be spared, and grateful for the slightest favors. But they've changed all that, since becoming aware that our mission is to protect them, to soothe their wounded sensibilities, and alleviate in every possible manner the discomforts they have brought upon themselves. An old man, with all his sons absent in the rebel army, and openly regretting that his rheumatic, creaking shoulders are not capable of bearing a musket, too, comes in unblushingly and demands a guard for his property. A woman, whose husband is first aid on a rebel General's staff, and whose only professed regret is that she has not two husbands to give to the lovely cause instead of one, two plantations to sacrifice, obtained a careful guard for her premises; the grass plat in front of the door must remain untrodden, not a blade disturbed; the graceful outline of the fence must not be broken by the obstruction of a rail to kindle a fire, and the sentry who guards the property shiveringly paces his lonely rounds in the performance of a thankless task. If the day reveals a gap in the hedge, the soldiers nearest the scene of depredation are turned out to the invigorating, but not cheerful employment of splitting rails to rebuild it. The argument is that this is not done from consideration for rebel property, but that the crops may be preserved, and families saved from suffering. If it is not giving aid and comfort to the enemy to thus assure them that we will kindly take care of their wives and daughters, superannuated fathers and decrepid mothers, that the husbands and sons may be enabled to fight us with minds free from all domestic anxiety, what in Heaven's name is? The old man has sent his sons to the wars with a fervent blessing on their heads, and his own white, but not honored head is nightly bowed in a blasphemous prayer for the success of an unholy cause; the wife has girded her husband's sword to his side, and bade him smite straight and deep whenever he nears a loyal heart; and now, emboldened by the unmerited tenderness showered around their dwellings, they stand upon their thresholds and spit upon the very soldiers that guard them. Such a straining of the quality of mercy I question if the world ever saw. If the father needs protection, let him summon his sons to his side; if the wife, her husband; let them proclaim their repentance for the past, and make their good intentions for the future manifest by deeds. Before I'd give a guard under any other circumstances to the families of the men who are butchering our wounded soldiers on the field, I'd see the rabbits burrowing in their fields, bats building on their hearthstones, and owls hooting from their chimney-tops. That we come to protect is a falsehood. It is not for the accomplishment of any such æsthetic task that the loyal North has poured out its millions and its blood. We come to conquer; to wipe out the debt of ages; to teach these chivalrous gentlemen who bayonet helpless men on the battle-field that we are neither fools nor mudsills; to crush out the rebellion, and unfalteringly push the work to its completion. Mercy to those who ask it, protection where the repentant claim it; but our soldiers enlisted to march with the sword in their hands, not an olive branch in their mouths! What wonder that the wives and daughters of these men who are fighting us to the bitter end despise us. Here we come, mighty with armies and terrible with banners; but not to conquer, oh no! Simply to nourish and protect, and show the South that we are right good fellows, and chivalrous to bear arms, but not barbarous enough to use them.

Southerners have always thought us fools, and now they think us doubly so. But yesterday I heard a cream-faced officer arguing with an old beldame in her doorway: "My good woman, we come to protect you and not—" "Who asked your protection?" she shouted; "I hate you and we all hate you." And I admire her spirit. That is the tone exactly that men should string themselves up to if they intend to fight. Clearly we are right or wrong in this war—if wrong, let us disband our armies and return to the pleasant paths of peace; if right, march to the Gulf without apology or asking pardon for desecrating door-yards. Desecrating door-yards, indeed! A spoon-souled doctor in this division humbly asked permission of the people of Falmouth to bury our soldiers, slain in the engagement on the skirts of the village, in the revolutionary burying-ground, saying that sooner than offend their prejudices he'd bury them outside, by the road, in a ditch, anywhere. Offend the prejudices of rebels and traitors, by burying in sacred ground the dead who fall in so holy a cause as that in which we are now engaged! I'd bury carrion under their noses, and choose for the last resting-place of our dead the most beautiful lawn that any Southern village affords. Let these people come humbly to us, and crave the privilege of caring for the remains of those whom they have martyred, and refuse them the honor unless they come with bowed, uncovered heads, and in sackcloth and ashes. I am sick of squeamishness and spoonishness. Let those who have no stomach for this fight depart to their homes and peace; let the others on to the accomplishment of the work we left our homes to accomplish.

### IMPORTANT FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

NEWBERN, May 22, 1862.

EVENTS have recently transpired in the State Convention at Raleigh, which are of the most significant character. Strange things are brought about in revolutionary times.

The most fatal stab that the institution of slavery has yet received was given by the Sovereign Convention of North Carolina, at one of its recent sessions, in the shape of a tax upon slaves. The following tax on this species of property was levied:

The annual tax on all slaves over 5 and less than 10 years of age is $5; over 10 and less than 15, $10; over 15 and less than 20, $15; over 20 and less than 45, $20.

As strange as it may seem, this measure became a law by a large majority, and is now embodied in the State Constitution. Of course, the most extensive slaveholders opposed this mode of taxation "as at war with Christian principles, and were shocked to think that such an outrageous proposition should be broached in this enlightened century." "What," says Kenneth Rayner, "do you propose to levy a tax upon human beings that have souls? Why, sir, a more shocking barbarity could not be perpetrated. Was a greater insult ever offered to the Almighty? Horrible, horrible to contemplate."

At this stage of the proceedings the Hon. John A. Gilmer from Guilford County, rose in his place and reminded Kenneth Rayner "that the Chief Justice of the United States once gave a decision to the effect that slaves were property, and had no rights that white men were bound to respect; and that he, Rayner, endorsed and approved of that decision, calling it one of the most profound of the age. Mr. Gilmer desired to know if the gentleman's views had undergone a change, and if so, in what particular. Is it the gentleman's conscience or pocket that is outraged? Which is the most horrible to contemplate?" "I would remind those gentlemen," said Mr. G., "whose consciences are so suddenly outraged by the introduction of this proposition to levy a tax on slaves, that they all, without a single exception, heartily concurred with the Chief Justice in his decision that slaves are property; therefore, it is self-evident that their consciences have undergone no change on this subject, hence we are led to understand that their pockets alone are affected. It can be regarded as only a tax on service, not on souls.

"I also, while I am up, desire to call the attention of those gentlemen who are opposing this measure, to the fact that they, and they alone, were chiefly instrumental in carrying North Carolina out of the Union. Yes, gentlemen, it is you who were in favor of contracting a great debt by carrying on a war with the Union. You claimed that secession was necessary, in order to give better security to the institution of slavery; hence it was for the exclusive benefit of *your* property that secession took place, and this enormous debt was contracted, and all of this misery and slaughter brought upon the country. At the commencement of secession you were exceedingly patriotic, and said that the South must secure her independence, at whatever sacrifice of blood or treasure.

"Gentlemen, you have succeeded in forcing the State out of the Union; you have also succeeded in saddling a great debt upon the State; thus far your wishes have been realized. You have had your way. In gratifying your wishes this debt has been incurred. You have remained at your firesides while the fearful struggle was going on, and obliged those who represent no property to fight your battles. Now that the debt has been contracted by you, who represent the slave interest of the State, you nevertheless have the coolness, with all these facts staring you in the face, to rise in your places and refuse to be taxed. By objecting to pay your share of this great debt you are obliging those who fought your battles to pay it for you. I desire to know if there can be anything more ungrateful and inhuman than this? I had no hand in bringing about this unholy war. I was not in favor of secession, and am not now. I love the old Union, and long to return to its folds. I had no voice in contracting this debt; I have been opposed to it all along. Notwithstanding this, I am willing that my slaves should be taxed heavily to liquidate this unjust debt. *Yea, I would gladly emancipate them all if it would restore us back as we were before. This slavery question is the cause of this war, and we shall never have peace until a gradual emancipation measure is adopted.*"

The Hon. Wm. A. Graham also made a very able speech in favor of this tax, as did Messrs. Badger, Bagley, Barns, Brown, Donnell, Foster, Holden, Leak (of Anson), Satterthwaite, Warren, and many others. Mr. Graham said: "The gentleman from Hertford (Mr. Rayner) accuses this Convention of incompetency for the duty of revising the Constitution. The gentleman from Rowan (Mr. Jones) asserts that it has fallen into disfavor with the people, and therefore they both concur in its adjournment or dissolution. From the moment this body determined to equalize taxation upon slaves as upon other property, so as to expose all the resources of the State to levies, to meet our great and increasing expenditures, and signified its disposition to revise the Constitution, this effort commenced, and ever since they have opposed this great measure of reform. But the gentleman from Rowan makes a graver charge. He asserts that the Convention has lost the confidence of the people. How is this ascertained? The people have elected no man their prophet to proclaim their voice. Each one of us can speak for his own constituency, and I presume for no other. I have derived no such information from mine."

Several of the most extensive slave-owners, among whom were Messrs. Johnson, Rayner, Thompson and others, who bitterly opposed this great reform, stated in their speeches "that they would emancipate their slaves before they would pay a dollar of the tax, for the reason that they had all become so completely demoralized since the war with the belief that Lincoln and Fremont were to set them free, as to be entirely worthless as servants any longer."

### THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

OF this document we have but little to say, believing the less said the better. Its issue is the result of the insolent dragooning of the so-called Conservatives, of the border State men—who are for the Union *with* slavery, or slavery *without* the Union—brought to bear upon the President, while clamor and excitement were at their height. These men have carried their points several times by their insolent demands, and they are only successful another time. The practical value of the point gained is not very great; but the fact that such a revoking proclamation has been issued under this pressure contains a lesson that should not, and we believe will not, be lost upon the friends of freedom. They can learn by example, what may be done when it is insisted upon. Had they been as regardless of the dignity of the relation between them and the government as these friends of slavery have been, they might have achieved much that has not been done. When the rebel sympathizers are prompt to tell the President what position they mean to occupy and what they expect him to do, and loud in their clamor that slavery shall not suffer and that freedom shall be suppressed, it requires on our side the same prompt and determined demand that the right shall be heard and regarded.

But there is one satisfaction about this matter; the cause of liberty will only be interrupted in its progress by this untoward proclamation. Gen. Hunter is not to be removed, and his policy toward the slaves within his lines will probably not be disturbed. The President has announced that the freeing of slaves by proclamation is an act that *he* must perform; but he intimates that he may do it. In fact slavery gains more in *appearance* in this matter than in substance; while it has drawn forth from the North the foreshadow of a policy that will crush it at last. The military necessity for such a policy must come sooner or later. If Hunter is not to proclaim liberty under that necessity, Lincoln will, when it is great enough. The cause of liberty in this affair suffers most by the stultification of those who should be its guardians, and the mortification of its more enthusiastic friends. We must wait a little longer for "the growth of what is excellent."—*Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.*

### MAY MAIL-CARRIERS BE BLACK?

THE African may be defined as a being created to show how wicked white men can be

save the lives of thousands of our brave Northern soldiers, your Conservatives, your Hunkers, your Border-State Conditional Unionists, and your Northern Semi-Traitors, all would fain laugh you to scorn—they all laugh at the negro. Well, the negro can be laughed at a while longer, *perhaps*, with *apparent* impunity; but the hour is coming when he cannot be. The hour is coming when our government, our armies, and our nation, will be glad to use against this monstrous rebellion all the resources which God and nature have put into their hands, even the now despised negro. Let them laugh who may, but let them remember, all the while, Front Royal, and how the negro was laughed at.—*Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat.*


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1862.


CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

## THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention commenced its sessions at the Melodeon, in Boston, on Wednesday, May 28th.

At 10½ o'clock, the Convention was called to order by EDMUND QUINCY, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee of Arrangements proposed, through Samuel May, Jr., the following as Officers of the Convention:

*For President*—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

*Vice-Presidents*—William Ashby, of Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H.; Leonard Chase, Milford, N. H.; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; Albert M. Chase, Canton; John T. Sargent, Boston; William I. Bowditch, Brookline; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Ellis Allen, Medfield; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Elizabeth B. Chase, Valley Falls, R. I.

*Secretaries*—Samuel May, Jr., Charles K. Whipple, Wendell P. Garrison.

*Business Committee*—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, William H. Fish, E. H. Heywood, Wm. Wells Brown, Charles Follen, Geo. W. Stacy, Aaron M. Powell, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Abby Kelley Foster.

*Finance Committee*—E. D. Draper, Hopedale; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Maria S. Page, Boston; Elbridge Sprague, Abington; Reuben H. Ober, Boston; Anna R. Powell, Ghent, N. Y.

The Convention accepted the officers thus nominated.

EDMUND QUINCY, in taking the chair, addressed the Convention. He thanked the Convention for the honor conferred upon him, in electing him to preside over its deliberations. He explained the grounds upon which the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had decided not to call together the New England Convention last year. He reviewed briefly the political anti-slavery history of the country during the two years past, showing how the will and purpose of the Northern people had triumphed over the conspiracy of the South and the more miserable cabals of their Northern sympathizers, in their purpose to elevate slavery to be the supreme power of the land. He pointed out and enforced the duty of the Abolitionists in this critical and momentous hour. He referred to the general satisfaction felt throughout the North at the Proclamation of Gen. David Hunter, and his remarks were warmly applauded. He expressed the disappointment and pain so generally felt when President Lincoln interposed his veto upon that great act of emancipation; but added his conviction that the President would himself exercise that great power whenever he saw the life of the Nation to be depending upon the proclamation of liberty to all. He thought we were never in so great danger of foreign intervention as at this moment; and that the President's late proclamation had, however differently meant, done more to complicate our foreign relations than any other thing which has happened. When, added to this, we consider the late enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law at Washington, it is easy to see that that large middle class of the British nation, which has hitherto held back their government from intervention in our national affairs, will be very likely to lose all interest in our war, and all hope that it will prove a war for freedom, and even to call on their government to interpose their power with an anti-slavery purpose. He again exhorted the anti-slavery people of the North to stand firm, and hoped that their labors might make it unnecessary ever again to hold a New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Committee of Business, reported the following resolutions, the reading of which was frequently interrupted by applause:

1. Resolved, That, first of all, we congratulate the true friends of their country everywhere—and especially those who have toiled so long and untiringly in the Anti-Slavery field—upon the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia by act of Congress—an act whereby the Seat of Government has, after seventy years of shame and opprobrium, been rescued from the accursed influences and manifold horrors of the presence of that barbarous system, and henceforth consecrated to freedom and free institutions.

2. Resolved, That the glory of this deed is dimmed by the fact, that it was carried through both houses of Congress by a strict party vote—the Republican members, to their lasting historic honor, voting in the affirmative, and the Democratic members, to their enduring infamy, recording their votes against it; nevertheless, a deed sanctioned and demanded alike by the Constitution of the United States, by the popular voice, and by all the claims of humanity and justice—the consequences of which cannot fail to have a vital and overmastering influence in the future in shaping national legislation, to be in all respects blessed and beneficent, and to lead the way to the extinction of slavery in every part of the land.

3. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be proffered to the Hon. Charles Sumner and the Hon. Henry Wilson in special, and to those other members of Congress in general, through whose persistent efforts and eloquent words, this long-deferred deed of mercy and righteousness was at last consummated.

4. Resolved, That, since the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia has occurred, the frightful paradox has been presented of slave-hunters from Maryland and Virginia swarming the Capital in quest of their fugitive slaves, and in various instances recovering them both by military and civil process; so that with the songs of jubilee have been mingled the shrieks and wailings of despair, and scenes the most joyous and the most depressing have been strangely blended in the same hour, within the same limits, and under the same governmental authority.

5. Resolved, That whatever constitutional obligation may have existed for the rendition of fugitive slaves in any of the States, there is and has been none in relation to the District of Columbia; and Congress, therefore, should lose no time in declaring freedom to every person found within the limits of the Capital, against any and every slaveholding claimant whatever.

6. Resolved, That special credit is to be awarded to the government, for having at this juncture made a treaty with England, whereby the right of search is equitably provided for in relation to the suppression of the foreign slave trade; so that the ocean slave-traffickers may no longer find shelter or protection, as they have hitherto done, under the American flag.

7. Resolved, That it will ever redound to the military sagacity, noble patriotism, and considerate humanity of Gen. Fremont, that, in August last, he decreed the liberation of all the slaves owned by the rebels in the State of Missouri, then a portion of his military district; and the enthusiastic manner in which it was universally applauded throughout the North was demonstrative proof of the popular feeling in regard to the most effective method for suppressing the rebellious movement of the South.

8. Resolved, That a still more effective blow, one on a wider scale, was recently struck at the rebellion by Gen. Hunter, in decreeing that "the persons in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are forever free" (these States comprising the Military Department of the South over which he is placed in command), on the ground that "slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible."

9. Resolved, That in swiftly revoking these decrees of Gen. Fremont and Gen. Hunter, President Lincoln has twice officially interposed, with whatever "honesty" of purpose, in the most direct manner, so as to give fresh zeal and encouragement to the traitors who are banded together for the overthrow of the government—to disgust and dishearten the uncompromising friends of free institutions—to needlessly prolong a bloody fratricidal war, at an enormous cost of money and sacrifice of human life—and to render more certain the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, at no distant day, by the governments of Europe.

10. Resolved, That the eagerness with which President Lincoln stands ready to guard slavery as a system from essential injury, even in those States where there is no evidence of a spark of loyalty remaining in any bosom, is manifested by his indecent haste to revoke the truly patriotic emancipation decree of Gen. Hunter, on mere newspaper authority, without waiting to hear from Gen. Hunter, whether he had really issued any such decree; and, if so, the reasons for so doing; thus, prejudging the case, and condemning before hearing the man to whom he had entrusted plenary powers as a military commander in his special district.

11. Resolved, That as, in his recent message, the President has withdrawn all right and power from the various commanders in the field to emancipate the slaves even of rebel masters, as a military necessity, or in any emergency however essential to the success of the army, and intimates that he alone is to decide when such act of emancipation may be properly proclaimed—and as slavery and rebellion are synonymous terms—the only atonement he can make to the country and the world for such disastrous interference is at once to make the decree of Gen. Hunter cover every slave State, instead of Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, and so to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—thus securing the blessing of God, a glorious and speedy victory, and a permanent Union based upon universal freedom and equal rights, without regard to complexion or race.

12. Resolved, That we recognize SLAVERY, and SLAVERY only, as the real root of the rebellion which now seeks to ruin or rule our nation, and as the sole cause of the war which has been forced upon us by the leading slaveholders of the South; that every fact in the inception and prosecution of the rebellion shows it to have been a deep-laid scheme, of unparalleled iniquity, to establish slavery forever, and to reduce to a subservient and dependent position all the interests of freedom; that we cannot fail to see, in SLAVERY, an enemy of our government and free institutions, implacable, insidious, and incessant in treason and plot so long as it shall live; and, seeing these things, we, assembled in the name of Freedom, and in behalf of the sacred and inalienable rights of Man, demand that this accursed thing be brought to an end; and we do hereby call upon our government to use the power, put in their hands by the slaveholders themselves—a power which may now be constitutionally as well as most righteously exercised—to terminate the war and the rebellion together by abolishing their cause—a cause which, if suffered to continue, will never cease to threaten the peace, prosperity, and very existence of the Nation.

13. Resolved, That though, for Freedom's sake, we might justly, as a nation, risk our prosperity and our existence, it will be only a deed of the utmost shame and disgrace, if, for base slavery's sake, we continue longer to imperil all that our fathers gained, all that we enjoy, and all the vast promise of the future for our children.

14. Resolved, That the President and Congress, by not making the necessary use of their power for the abolition of slavery and the confiscation of the rebel property, neglect in an inexcusable manner the interests of the people of the North and the safety of the republic; that they unnecessarily prolong the war, unnecessarily risk the lives of thousands, unnecessarily impose upon the people a daily sacrifice of millions of dollars, and unnecessarily tax posterity to pay for the crimes of slaveholders, and the faults of those who conduct the war against them.

15. Resolved, That we declare that it is the right and the duty of the people to insist that the war shall be no longer carried on in the interest of slavery, and that the President and Congress be held responsible for all the blood and money which are sacrificed rather for the preservation of slavery and consideration towards the rebels, than for the establishment of freedom and the benefit of the people.

Hon. FRANCIS W. BIRD, of Walpole, was introduced to the meeting. He described the state of bitter and malignant feeling prevailing in Norfolk, Virginia—which he had lately visited—towards the people of the North. He described also the condition of the escaped slaves (or "contrabands,") at Fortress Monroe—the friendly and successful labors of Mr. Wilder (of Boston) in their behalf—the honorable course of Gen. Wool towards them—but the injustice and ill-treatment they have suffered, and still are suffering, at the hands of many of the United States army officers. He spoke of their *schools*, so-called, and of the great pains they took to learn, under many most discouraging circumstances.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was warmly applauded as he took the floor. He thought the facts which Mr. Bird had given us were the key to the whole subject. They showed the prevalent feeling of the country towards the colored man, and indicated that the country is not ready to settle the question, as alone it can be settled, by doing justice to the enslaved and oppressed portion of the land. Mr. Phillips recounted many other facts which point to the same conclusion. He said that at London, of all the ministers there representing other nations, Mr. Adams, the United States minister, is the only one who refuses to recognize the Republic of Hayti, and holds no intercourse with the Haytian Minister. He spoke of the far more pregnant fact that President Lincoln had so hastily annulled Gen. Hunter's act of emancipation, as one which had taken *twenty five per cent.* at least from the prospect of restoring any union of the States. He referred to the very many and most important services rendered to our army and the Union cause by black men and slaves. He spoke of the recent votes of five Massachusetts Representatives AGAINST the bill to set free the slaves of rebels, by which votes the bill was defeated—Dawes, Delano, Rice, Train, Thomas, treading to the ground the first emancipation proposal which had been brought before the House. The Cabinet of the President, by their delays—McClellan by his delay, and by permitting his enemy again and again to escape him—the President, by allowing Mercier, the representative of a foreign government, to go in his official capacity to the heart of the rebel camp—are all essentially traitorous to the Union, whatever their aim and disposition be. The President is the only man who ever dared to thrust back a million of men into slavery again. Now, I rejoice, in this month of May, to say that we want every Governor of every Northern State to take the same position which Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts has taken in his late letter to Secretary Stanton (immense cheering). We want every Senator and every Representative in Congress to take the stand of Senator Grimes, of Iowa, who refuses to vote to the Administration another man or another dollar, until he knows what is to be done with them. Our duty now is, if we would maintain the Union and save the country, to call upon Congress, to address the President, by memorial, to remove the present Commander-in-Chief, and to put Sigel, or Fremont, or some person ready to fight the battles of the Union, in his place. "I move, sir, that this Convention request the President to remove Gen. McClellan, and put Gen. Sigel in his place" (loud applause).

Adjourned to ½ before 3.

### Afternoon Session.

Met according to adjournment, the PRESIDENT in the chair. On motion, several persons were added to the officers of the Convention.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, thought that no Society in history had ever been better vindicated in its purposes and principles than this. Only to-day were these beginning to be understood and recognized. The simple axioms of truth and liberty had hitherto been regarded by the community as dangerous and fanatical. It had been the province of this Society to proclaim the moral laws of God's universe, and that they can no more be violated than the physical laws. As legislation to the contrary, in the latter case, would be senseless and futile, so all legislation against the moral law—the higher law—has met and must ever meet the same fate. Our infidelity consists in denying the superiority of human statutes to the divine. When Mr. Seward broached this doctrine, the whole land rose in derision. To-day, the general belief is on our side. So this Society has ever declared the right way to be the safe way, and conversely, that wrong-doing is always unsafe. Events to-day are sustaining us. This war results from the transgression of our fathers—from their compromise with evil. Nor does it matter with what motives they acted; the mischief has been produced all the same. This Society never asked for emancipation by the sword—by blood. It only appealed to the American people to use God's weapons of reason and argument, but they would not. They had the power, but they squandered it. The clergy alone might have abolished slavery and saved the country. To their infidelity is due the bloodshed of the hour. What if now they are crying for the Union, and becoming anti-slavery? For thirty years they have been appealed to in vain.

Mr. Phillips's portrayal of the character of the war this morning was just and truthful. There has been no desire to touch the cause of the rebellion. The government proposes to return, after the war, to the old condition of things, and to the old barbarities of the slaveholders' rule. Hence the lack of energy in prosecuting the war. Gen. Scott was not in earnest—he wanted reconciliation. Amid all the (necessary) violations of the Constitution, the one thing sacred is and has been, slavery. Mr. Foss believed the President would (give him time enough) be driven to emancipation. But he feared he would make up his mind just five minutes too late. The action of the government resembles that of the old man who pelted the boy in his apple-tree with grass to bring him down. It takes stones to do it; but when Fremont or Hunter tries to fling them, the President holds his arm.

The history of the Society is all clear—in principles and measures. Now, for our duty, in the future. Take Illinois, and consider her black code, her exclusion of the colored race from her soil and privileges. We need agents there and throughout all the North-western States. Prejudice against the blacks is everywhere exhibited. In the army, the slaves that give information are restored to their masters, to be flogged to death. The meritorious deeds of the blacks in the war have not been rewarded and recognized as if done by white men.

The work of the Society is in good condition, but unfinished. Our agents should be maintained and multiplied. Mr. Foss was hopeful that he should live to see slavery abolished.

Hon. AMASA WALKER, of North Brookfield, was next introduced. He said he revisited this platform after an absence of fifteen years—caused by the assumption here of the disunion doctrine. He could not see then how slavery could be peacefully abolished by those means. But to-day he felt himself invited by the call of the meeting, and that duty urged him to attend. He came to advocate the right, duty and necessity of immediate emancipation under the war power. Though separated so long from his old friends, he had never ceased to respect and admire them. The slaveholders themselves had taken slavery out of the Union, and now he was ready to say that they should not bring it back again. They saw, from the increase in the production of cotton with an astonishing increase in its price, how widely its consumption was spreading. They saw, too, that they had not sufficient slaves to keep pace with the demand. Moreover, white foreign emigrants were engaging in the cotton cultivation. This was one great cause of the rebellion, and of their forcible removal of slavery from the Union. Let it never be restored! Separation or emancipation must take place. A restoration of the old Union is an absurdity—an impossibility. We must subjugate the South, but we cannot do it while the slaves are left. To defeat armies in battles is not to subjugate a people. The British found it so in '76. We have had no war yet, and yet we have lost 50,000 men. We have been striking the South with the one hand, and propping up slavery with the other; therefore, said Mr. Walker, I am going to cry—Give us emancipation, or give us peace! There is, too, a lack of public sentiment. We are like England in the Crimean war. We think everything is progressing well. There is no criticism volunteered or offered. We complain that the President and Congress do not emancipate; they are but servants; where is the public command for them to obey?

[A VOICE.—In the case of Fremont, the public uttered its voice for freedom.]

For a moment, possibly, but how quickly the chief presses and the popular enthusiasm succumbed! Hunter's proclamation—is that sustained? Is Gov. Andrew's letter sustained? No. Between emancipation and separation there must be a choice—and mine (said Mr. Walker) is for the former. Not a word as to colonization. This is a delusion that will tickle the conservatives till emancipation; after that, as in Jamaica, they will want all the blacks they have, and more too. The South is a desert without labor. Never fear it will abandon its workers. The current will set Southward, not Northward.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER introduced the following resolutions, saying he thought those from the Business Committee, reported this morning, hardly up to the demands of the hour:

Resolved, That although the rebellion is without the shadow of justification or excuse on the part of its authors, and is characterized by atrocities rarely equalled in modern warfare, it is, nevertheless, but the legitimate fruit of our base and wicked treatment of our colored fellow-countrymen; and we are free to declare that we have no desire to see it suppressed, and peace restored to our distracted country, till the last fetter shall be broken, and the government established upon the broad and comprehensive principles of impartial justice.

Resolved, That as the events of the past year have made no essential change in the spirit or action of our national government—the infamous Fugitive Slave law being still in full force, and the national arm still uplifted to suppress slave insurrections—our position towards it is unchanged, and we renew the avowal of our purpose to have no lot or part in a Union which tolerates the presence of a single slave.

Resolved, That the dogged perseverance of our national government in holding four million of our loyal countrymen in slavery, while their masters are engaged in a bloody and atrocious rebellion, challenges the scorn and detestation of the civilized world, and invites, if it does not justify, the interference of foreign nations in the settlement of a controversy to which we as a nation have shown ourselves utterly incompetent.

He did not believe (as other speakers seemed to) that in the past twenty-four months any great and gratifying change had occurred in relation to the colored people. Church and government are alike at fault, with rare exceptions. Who does not see that slavery is the cause and the weak point of the rebellion? Yet who demands abolition? We sacrifice our sons rather than strike off the chains of the slave. This is no hopeful moment. Never was ardent warfare more needed. Slavery remaining the same as for the past eighty years, our course and duty are the same, or should be. He could not see that slavery had lost a particle of its attractiveness among the people of the North. Parson Brownlow is everywhere received, though asking for the execution of ourselves and associates. Where are the clergy this day? Only in Union meetings, not on this platform. Union means slavery—and the war is for that. Therefore he (Mr. F.) had no desire to see the war end till every slave is free. He would neither enlist in the war nor encourage others to enlist, till the government should adopt the abolition policy. The sons of this Society have been set to the infamous work of capturing fugitive slaves. There are no obstacles to emancipation. The slaves have shown since the beginning of the war their capacity for freedom. One of two things is certain: either the war is no war for freedom, or he who tolerates slavery for one moment is a traitor. We have never heard the war proclaimed to be for freedom; on the contrary, it is declared to be for Union and restoration. When emancipation is used as a *dernier resort*, there will be no virtue in it. Yet this is all the government hints at. Abraham Lincoln is as truly a slaveholder as Jefferson Davis. He cannot even contemplate emancipation without colonization. Slavery is not abolished in the District. No one is free there without his free papers.

He (Mr. F.) wished to protest against all putting off the harness and slackening from the warfare. That popular heat which effervesced in August, 1861, cooled in forty-eight hours. What was it worth? The people don't want liberty, except for themselves. This Society should warn all young men to withhold their support from this government until it declares itself for emancipation.

J. B. SWASEY said: In all great public questions we should all have patience. If we see clearly the end or the result, we must wait for a slow arrival there—we must not expect a jump or a leap to it. He (Mr. S.) saw a vast difference between to-day and two years ago, and that difference justified him in sustaining the government against Jefferson Davis, while still being a disunion Abolitionist? Was the late proclamation of the President nothing? Did it not clearly enough portend emancipation? It was a point from which to date—a line of demarcation, and the tendency is toward liberty. Is abolition in the District of Columbia no proof of sincerity and progress in our rulers? We have begun to march on the road to universal emancipation. Mr. Foster, while as ready to support Jefferson Davis as the Federal government, admitted unawares that the South had hoped to subjugate the North. The war, then, is a war of self-defence: who can help siding with the North?

J. N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, rose to endorse the speech of Mr. Swasey, and say "ditto to Mr. Burke." He had learned that there were degrees in wrong, and when it came to choosing betwen Jeff Davis and Abraham Lincoln, he had no hesitation in supporting the latter. The changes in the President have been real and cheering, if slow. We must be patient. Other changes in other directions are equally gratifying. The wealthy classes are learning the cause and the cure of the rebellion. There is no comparison between the leaders South and North. The former go for unlimited despotism. Mr. Lincoln would emancipate, if the people would sustain him. Mr. Foster had discouraged the young men from going to the war, but he (Mr. B.) would encourage them, and go himself when needed. Nor are the clergy as they used to be. They have ceased to preach pro-slavery. [A VOICE—"They preach for a salary."] Well, thank God that they preach right for a salary, instead of preaching wrong! No more licenses to sell human beings in the District of Columbia! Even the London *Times* is converted. Therefore, let us not fail to recognize and help on the progress of events. Let us send out agents, and act as agents ourselves wherever we go.

Dr. DANIEL MANN wished to explain his interruption of Mr. Walker, in regard to the popular voice about Fremont. His purpose was to take away this excuse from the President, that he was waiting for public sentiment. He endorsed Mr. Foster's sentiments. He read a resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That, so long as our national government neglects to announce a war policy consistent with the high principles of justice and universal liberty asserted by our forefathers, and demanded by every principle of Christianity, honor and wise policy, we hold ourselves, and all true patriots, as bound to stand aloof from the present contest. We accept the reproach of "conditional patriotism," and vindicate it as the only patriotism worthy of rational and responsible beings; and we announce, as the essential condition of our support, that the government shall show itself worthy the support of the friends of equal justice to all men.

Adjourned to the evening, 7½ o'clock.

### Evening Session.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

The following anti-slavery hymn, written for the occasion by GEORGE W. STACY, of Milford, was sung by the Convention. *Tune*—Lenox.

O, Father, from above,
Send thy good spirit here;
The spirit of thy love,
That "casteth out all fear,"
O may we stand, | A noble band
By truth set free, | For Liberty.

Why should we halt and wait?
Our work so well begun;
And know we not our fate,
If work is left undone?
O give us heart, | Nor may we part
To run the race: | With heavenly grace.

Ah, what an hour is this
How pregnant is our fate!
Say, is it woe or bliss,
For which the millions wait?
Who long have borne | With flesh all torn
The galling chain, | 'Mid sweat and pain?

The night is near at hand,
And what a night 'twill be,
If God's divine command
To set his people free
Shall still remain | And every chain
Unheard and blank, | Our death-knell clank!

No! by the help of God,
We'll set the captive free;
We must obey the word,
That word is LIBERTY!
A word of right | That sees the light,
For every soul | Or feels earth's roll.

Still ONWARD! is the cry—
The battle must be won!
Raise, raise the standard high,
Unfurl it to the sun!
Shout, shout and sing, | Till earth shall ring,
Nor cease the voice, | And man rejoice!

A very interesting letter in this day's New York *Tribune*, from the army near Fredericksburg, Virginia, describing many important services rendered to the Union army by loyal black slaves in that neighborhood, was read to the Convention, which manifested a great interest in its details.

WM. WELLS BROWN was then introduced, and said: During the last half century the negro has been more prominent than any other race, though not through his own choice. The idea has prevailed that he is inferior in intellect to the white man, and it is now maintained that he cannot exist with the latter on this continent except in a state of bondage. It is true that a comparison at present would not be favorable to the blacks, since they have been so cruelly oppressed. But the blacks have not always been inferior to the white races. He contended that the ancient Egyptians, who led the world in science and literature, were negroes, and the forefathers of the American slaves. The early state of the Britons is known to have been little above the brutes. They were subjugated by Romans, Saxons, and Normans. Into these they merged, and sunk their individuality. From this stock came Montgomery Blair, who makes mouths at the negroes.

Many papers are afraid of an influx of negroes to the North after emancipation. This is disproved by the facts of emancipation in the West Indies. The "ruin of Jamaica" existed before abolition, for the planters were bankrupt ten years previous. To the difficulties thus erected, were added low wages and oppressive laws, and for a while emancipation was called a failure. But to-day the former slaves own three-fifths of Jamaica, while exports exceed the highest of the days of slavery. In this country, spite of prejudice, disabilities, and outrage, the free colored population everywhere are characterized by intelligence, good behavior, and often by wealth. Even in Charleston, where the most atrocious laws subject them to perpetual insult and wrong, you find a large and respectable free colored population. They choose to stay there rather than emigrate.

In the District of Columbia the colored people own one hundred thousand dollars worth of Church property. No one can doubt the black man's industry. His loyalty also is above suspicion. From Attuck's time till now he has fought for his country on every battle-field. Let the editors of those papers, that would colonize the black man, colonize themselves in Lapland, under bonds never to disgrace their country by returning to it.

There are persons who speak one word for the Union and ten against the negro. Some such have gone to England to correct their impressions of the state of things here. Among them is George Francis Train, who, after getting the British ear by Union speeches, turned round and maligned the blacks and the Abolitionists. His great measure of justice is to give the slave one day in the week to work out his freedom! Such representatives are a disgrace to justice and liberty.

The slaves cannot take care of themselves! Our inhumanity towards those who are liberated has yet not prevented them from working faithfully and persistently for the government, even though it abuses them, and does not pay them.

ANNA E. DICKINSON, of Philadelphia, was then introduced. She said: It is said we can conquer without emancipation. The rebellion is almost crushed—our armies are pressing Southward—the end approaches, when all things will be restored as of old. The South, having been deceived in regard to Mr. Lincoln and the aims of the Republican party, went to war to protect slavery. Now, perhaps they are beginning to see that Mr. Lincoln is not so far from a slave-catcher, after all. The loyalty of the South is a myth. It will of course grow, as our armies advance, because between hanging and loyalty the advocates of a sinking cause can have but one choice. Yet where is the Unionism of New Orleans? Citizens shot down for cheering the American flag; the Mayor submitting as the conquered to conquerors. So in Norfolk: the Mayor dares to call us enemies to our faces, and to refer to his friends the rebels! The same story everywhere. We may beat their armies everywhere, take every city and seaport: what then? Subjugated, are they subdued? They would rise in sixty days again, should the military arm be withdrawn. Success cannot guild our banners while the shadow of the blacks obscures it. Two thousand of our army have died monthly in the Border States of disease in the cold weather: figure the number under the heat of summer in the Gulf States! Since these things are so, when Gen. Hunter, considering besides that there were no loyal whites in his department, as his predecessor had found, resolved to increase his forces by the blacks whose loyalty he had put to the proof, and declared them freemen forever—he, who in 1858 declared that this government could not exist half slave and half free, annulled the proclamation from the White House! Kentucky, which furnished the halter of liberty in the person of John Brown, has strangled her again, through her representative in the Presidential chair!

In the field, Gen. Mitchell rejects the bondmen who flee to him for protection. Everywhere those who bring us the most important intelligence are liable to be thrust back into slavery, there to be whipped, tortured, burned to death.

How do the brave young hearts return to us from the war? How many go from us, and never return! And we have nothing to do with slavery! What are our sufferings to those of the slave girl, or the slave mother, lashed from the embrace of her children? Has your purity no feeling for purity outraged? your parental affections no sympathy for the lacerated love of the slaves? Can you hesitate to speak the word—Be free? God has put slavery into our hands to choke it: He alone should be able to take it out again alive. Let us storm the slave system, as Smith took Fort Donelson. If the President will not give us the order, let us go ourselves.

E. H. HEYWOOD then addressed the Convention. The key-note of the hour has been struck in the two preceding speeches: recognition of the humanity and manhood of the negro. The present struggle is the old conflict between the conscientious thought of the humble and the might of monarchs. This is not Democracy on trial, but in grapple with the Slave Oligarchy, and the choice of the people is, abolish the slaveholders or be abolished! May it be the fortune of Abraham Lincoln to surpass the Father of his country, by tearing out that bloody stripe of the Constitution which Washington fixed there! We have had successes, we have an honest, a humane government, as the world goes; but this is not enough. We yet have the black code in Illinois, the Fugitive Slave law in the District of Columbia, and four million slaves at the South. This is no time, then, for the Anti-Slavery Society to cease from work; nor does it. It will go on as heretofore, surmounting every obstacle in Church and State, till it touches emancipation.

In the army to-day, officers are cashiered for their love of freedom, not for that of slavery. If the nation abolish slavery only from military necessity, to save itself, it is disgraced thereby. The nation which would abolish slavery simply to save itself, would establish it for the same reason. If slavery be (as Vice-President Stephens says) the corner-stone of the rebellion, then to destroy it is to knock the bottom out of the Confederacy.

Adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, a.m.

### Thursday Morning.

Reassembled according to adjournment, at the Melodean; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The Business Committee presented the following resolution:

16. Resolved, That while we rejoice in that change in national affairs, and of public sentiment at the North, which has compelled the American Tract Society to avow a pretended interest in freedmen and freedom, or accept an empty treasury, we regard as infamous, pharisaical, and essentially treasonable the voice of that Society, as given through Robert C. Winthrop at its late anniversary, justifying its past complicity with slavery, condemnatory of confiscation and emancipation, counselling a revival and renewal of fraternal fellowship between the evangelical church members of the North and the men-stealing, cradle-plundering, evangelical pirates and rebels of the South.

The resolutions offered yesterday afternoon by S. S. Foster were read again, by request.

J. B. SWASEY inquired what action had been taken by the Convention on Mr. Foster's resolutions.

The CHAIR stated that the Convention had taken no action, as yet, upon any of the resolutions before it.

Mrs. FOSTER rose to second the resolutions offered by S. S. Foster, and addressed the Convention in an earnest denunciation of the pro-slavery policy of the Administration, and in condemnation of those Abolitionists who gave the Administration any degree of support or confidence. She declared the nation to be hopelessly lost, and its destruction sealed. The slave may be freed, but only from a regard to our own safety. The hate of the colored race and man will still continue, and the poison of this wickedness will destroy us as a nation. She thought the Anti-Slavery Society had come to trying to save themselves and the country, instead of trying, as of old, to save the negro. She was sorry to see a return to the old doctrine of a choice of evils, and that it was said we must support President Lincoln because he was not so bad as Jeff Davis. When we are ready to accept the less of two sinners, the serpent of compromise has crept into our midst. We seem to be partaking of the general corruption of the times in this respect. Age tends to conservatism, and we should pray to be preserved in the freshness of our fanaticism. This we can do by repudiating a choice of sinners, by repudiating a slave-creating government which sacrifices our young men in maintaining the bondage of four million blacks. She did not believe in the possibility of Union—God cannot save this Union, much less we. Abraham Lincoln is a practical atheist, or he would not have acted as he has. Were *his* wife and children in the clutch of slavery, he would cry—Daah the Union in pieces! Whatever the course of this Convention, there are a few who will leave their protest against supporting the government in its present position. The growth and progress of public sentiment which have been claimed during the past year, are more specious than real. Over Fremont's proclamation there was a momentary triumph of the popular instinct; then came a pro-slavery reaction; a renewal of the old hatred against the negro. Mrs. Foster again urged the impossibility of a restoration of the Union, and the necessity of adhering to the old ground of total abstinence from slavery, and saving ourselves by saving the negro. She saw no fault in the resolutions, nor why what was true a year ago was not so now.

Mr. J. B. SWASEY believed that men honestly differ from each other in a choice of means. So he did from Mrs. Foster, while sympathizing with much that she had said. He believed that every one at this time is impelled to support or embarrass the government, and therefore he laid it down distinctly, that between the government at Washington and that at Richmond there is absolutely a great choice. The government of to-day is not identical, in its relations to slavery, with that of James Buchanan—all our instincts assert it. Yet, looking at the conduct of our Generals, the acts of Congress, etc., etc., we can accumulate a powerful argument for the condemnation of our government, if we could stop short at that point. But if the South were successful in this contest, as is remotely possible, we should not only have a restoration of the old Constitution, but a pro-slavery reign which would make slavery everywhere normal on this continent. Such is the aim of the South, though the time is not yet come for her to own it.

He did not believe Mr. Foster's resolutions represented the voice of the Convention, and he had spoken that they might not pass. He could wish for a leader such as Mr. Foster could choose, that he might follow him through principle and enthusiasm, and not through necessity. But we must take things as we find them. Mr. Lincoln is not great, but he believes slavery to be wrong, and would like to stab it fatally if he could. Was Mr. Buchanan ever in such a frame of mind? Grant Mr. Lincoln is not the man for the crisis, it seems unquestionable that he is honest and sincere. Evidence of this can be found in his late proclamation, though this was far from what might be desired. He believed it a sign of the government's intention to take the road to universal emancipation, and therefore it is condemned by the Border State men as an impertinent interference. Our friends on the other side allow no charity to our public men—no consideration for the obstacles they must encounter.

Mr. MAY, in behalf of the Society here represented, made an appeal for the necessary financial aid.

AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent, N. Y., said he wished to increase the sense of personal responsibility in this hour, and the duty of renewing our exertions in behalf of the slave and of mankind. The nearer the hour of freedom approaches, the more we should proclaim the right of immediate emancipation for every slave, and the duty of liberation to the master. The great bulwark under which slavery had hitherto sheltered itself he recognized as shattered. The Union is broken—the disruption is complete. With the Union began a downward, demoralizing career for the nation. The earliest discord grew out of slavery in the first Convention for the Union. This difference was settled by compromise alone. From that as the starting-point, a long line of indulgences and concessions to the South reached down to the outbreak of the rebellion.

He saw these alternatives: annihilation of the South, or separation. The former, so horrible is it, he did not believe it could ever be consummated; against the latter is the prevailing Union sentiment, which puts Daniel S. Dickinson into the Attorney-General's chair in New York, and is restoring the Democrats to places of power everywhere, while such Generals as McClellan and Halleck in the field are working in the same direction. In the Union meetings which he had attended, the cause of the war was thoroughly ignored and kept out of sight. Even Mr. Buffum, yesterday, could offer all his support to the President in his present position. It was another sad proof of the painful results of the attempt to reconstruct the impossible Union. In this drifting of principles and parties, we must go back to our old standard of justice and truth.

Mr. SWASEY.—Do you or do you not sustain the government?

Mr. POWELL.—I do not, any more than I am compelled to. I should be ashamed to.

Our fate is wrapped up with that of the negro. Mr. Phillips used to say the slave should be the basis of all our action, and he (Mr. Powell) could not see such a change in the position of affairs as that this principle of our warfare should be reversed. He would have the government supported when it acted as it ought. But he had never seen such alacrity to carry out the Fugitive Slave law as now in the District of Columbia. If that was the honesty of the Republican administration, he could only characterize it as awful. What language is too strong to condemn this inhumanity? This is the result of the idea that there can be a Union without freedom. Let patriotism be conditional till the government endorses emancipation, and our work, to bring it up to that point. We are left without an anchor, except the army and the White House. The Church is still dead. It looks not to Christ, but to "honest" Abraham Lincoln. What infidelity! This was the man who had lately taken the awful responsibility of reënslaving a million freedmen; who had shown indecent haste to fetter and remove Gen. Fremont, to emasculate Cameron's report, to annul Hunter. He had no patience to trust the rulers of the land; he did not believe in their integrity. They knew the right, for they were not fools, and could read the Declaration, and listen to Wendell Phillips at Washington. Yet recreant Massachusetts Representatives could vote down emancipation when they knew it to be just. Moreover, the proof of insincerity is visible in the treatment of known disloyalists (like the President's gardener) at the seat of government.

There can be no peace, no prosperity, no happiness, until we get rid of all our responsibility for slavery. He would save liberty first, and let union come afterward or not. We shall have no power in the North until the slave is primary with us, and union is forgotten. We always lose by coöperation with those whose principles belong to a level lower than our own. Mr. May confirms this by stating that for the first time in many years, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is in debt. The accustomed contributions have been swept away by the tide of war and unionism. There is no other explanation.

Mr. SWASEY offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention, never surrendering the principle, "No Union with Slaveholders," none the less, in the present exigency, believes its duty to be to sustain the government.

Mrs. THANKFUL SOUTHWICK said that the President has always proposed a restoration of the Union *precisely as it was*. Anti-slavery has nothing to do with the President's movement. We shall *have* a restoration of the Union as it was, because the nation is pro-slavery at heart.

PARKER PILLSBURY thought Mr. Swasey's resolution utterly inconsistent with itself. He heartily approved Mrs. Southwick's remarks. At three late anti-slavery gatherings, said he, I have assisted in affirming that the President and the government have the power legally and constitutionally to abolish slavery. We have affirmed this to be not only a duty, under the higher law, but the constitut

black race from the continent. Science and politics joined hands on this issue. This is the crime of the American people, that they think inferiority of race a ground for injustice.

He thought Abraham Lincoln as culpable as Jeff Davis. He found no proof of his anti-slavery disposition—only insinuations communicated by unknown parties.

PARKER PILLSBURY hoped no time would be lost in mere words. This audience wishes to know what the Abolitionists think in this crisis which many have expected and some predicted. There has been some confusion in our utterances which he would like to dispel. Our mission, from the beginning, has been one and the same—emancipation without conditions. A change of circumstances has come, it is true; there have always been changes: now, perhaps, growing more and more marked. But he knew of no conditions that could discharge him from his anti-slavery obligations. At present we were no part of the government in peace, and not any more can we be in war. He could not support Pierce or Buchanan with a ballot, nor Lincoln with a bullet, when they were all pledged to slavery. He disliked to differ with the anti-slavery leaders—his teachers—but he felt he has learned more than they, and by their example and precept was bound to express his differences. He did not believe with Mr. Buffum in taking a step backward to gain a better opportunity to work. He believed in keeping the whole law in all its points. His duty seemed clear—to maintain his old position as leader of the government, not as follower.

Unless we demand abolition as a moral principle, we shall never obtain it as a military necessity. There have been signs of slackening on the part of some of the Abolitionists—signs which mislead the public. The people should hear from this platform only a certain sound. He specified the Pennsylvania and Western Anti-Slavery Societies as deficient in their duty.

The government is as ready to compromise as ever. It will not hang the privateers for fear of Col. Corcoran's death. Secretary Seward's letter to Minister Dayton justifies the belief that secret plottings are now going on for a mediation to restore the old condition of things. Our government is more atheistic than the government of Robespierre. Therefore we are to preach righteousness and demand justice and freedom, no matter for expediency and military necessity. May it not be our fault that the nation grope still longer in darkness and crime!

ANNA E. DICKINSON criticized a remark of Mr. Buffum, that he was glad to see Parson Brownlow introduced to the Northern public, because he exhibited, better than any other could, the barbarism and villany of the South. She believed he rather helps to clog the wheels of government, because he refuses to acknowledge slavery as the cause of the war. He advocates the war from his personal sufferings, and awakes sympathy for those Union men South who have been well-nigh our destruction; who sat and saw the Capital threatened; and who massacred Massachusetts soldiers rushing to the rescue.

She saw progress in the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; in Hunter's proclamation and Gov. Andrew's letter.

The prophets of the national evil who have been so long derided, now stand justified of their old warnings and forebodings. People who thought they had nothing to do with slavery, now find their own homes on fire, their own children swallowed up in the flames.

S. S. FOSTER moved that the question be taken on the resolutions which have been immediately under discussion to-day. Carried.

The Secretary first read the three resolutions offered by Mr. Foster, yesterday, and it was voted to take the question on them separately.

The first of the said resolutions was adopted.

The second was lost.

The third was, on motion, laid on the table by a vote of 32 to 11.

The question was then taken on Mr. Foster's resolution on the Church and clergy, and, on motion of Mr. Garrison, it was laid on the table, by a vote of 47 to 33.

Mr. SWASEY withdrew his resolutions in support of the government.

Mr. GARRISON presented the following resolutions:

Whereas, Governor Andrew, in reply to a requisition from the Secretary of War for additional infantry regiments from Massachusetts, nobly said in the spirit of considerate humanity and of a true patriotism, "if our people feel that they are going into the South to help to fight the rebels, who will kill and destroy them by all the means known to savage, as well as civilized war, will deceive them by fraudulent flags of truce and lying pretences, as they did the Massachusetts boys at Williamsburg, will use their negro slaves against them, both as laborers and fighting men, while they themselves must never fire at the enemy's magazine, I think they will feel the draft is heavy on their patriotism. But if the President will sustain Gen. Hunter, and recognize all men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the blacks are waiting to manifest, and let them fight with God and human nature on their side, the roads will swarm, if need be, with the multitudes, whom New England would pour out to obey your call"; and

Whereas, for the expression of these exalted and timely sentiments—sentiments that will redound to the lasting honor of their author—such journals as the Boston *Courier* and the Boston *Post* are heaping the vilest opprobrium upon Governor Andrew, and maliciously derogating from his unimpeachable patriotism, while their own columns are daily disseminating the most subtle treasonable views; therefore,

Resolved, That it is demonstrated that these journals, rather than have the foul and brutal slave system overturned, even as a military necessity and to save the unity of the republic, would incomparably prefer to subject the brave soldiers of the North to be shot down, assassinated, poisoned, mutilated while living, and their dead bodies dishonored and outraged in the most revolting manner—the war indefinitely prolonged—the national debt needlessly and enormously increased—tens of thousands of Northern lives destroyed by malaria and disease in their multifarious forms on the Southern soil—and the final victory of the rebellious Confederate States over the national government.

Whereas, no fact is more undeniable than this—that the traitors of the South are constantly making use of their entire slave population to dig their rifle pits, build their fortifications, raise the necessary food to sustain them, and in various instances arming a portion of them to shoot down the Northern soldiers, and give complete success to the rebellion; therefore,

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States, in rejecting a motion to confiscate the slave property of these miserable traitors, is convicted of astounding infatuation, of utter moral cowardice, and of leaving in their hands the essential power and the most potent instrumentality by which they are enabled to bid defiance to the government; and thus is practically guilty of "giving aid and comfort" to the very conspirators it brands as outlaws and pronounces worthy of an ignominious death.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, the whole assembly rising in approval of them.

Adjourned to 7½ o'clock.

## Evening Session.

Met according to adjournment, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

Lieut. THOMAS EARLE, of Worcester, of the Massachusetts 25th Regiment, addressed the Convention. He gave many interesting details concerning the expedition of Gen. Burnside to North Carolina, in which he was a soldier. One of the speakers, he said, had credited him with the escape of twenty-eight slaves, but that was the sum total from all the camps at Annapolis, though he had done what he could. He had listened from his boyhood to anti-slavery lectures, but only after his enlistment as a private in this war had he realized what it was to be an anti slavery man. He had endured a share of all the hardships of the Burnside expedition. The night before landing at Roanoke Island, a negro came out to Gen. Burnside in a boat and gave him essential information about the landing place, the force of the enemy, etc. The experience at Roanoke had abolitionized the young men of Worcester County in that regiment. For himself, his motto was, Universal, Immediate Emancipation. His comrades had, many of them, been pro-slavery from Worcester to Hatteras, but their eyes were opened on the island. He spoke in the highest terms of Gen. Burnside, and said he had seen him welcome with his own hands the fugitives from the mainland, escaping in boats. The soldiers under him to-day would toss their caps out of sight, if emancipation were decreed. They were especially abolitionized by the luxurious treatment of the rebel officers, and their own neglect and exposure.

Mr. FOSTER.—Shame on the government!

Mrs. FOSTER.—Shame on those who fight for such a government!

Lieut. EARLE.—Where would you have been to-day, Mrs. Foster, if we had not gone to fight for our country? Pennsylvania ravaged, New York ravaged, Worcester burned, your farm destroyed!

As soon as the slaves got confidence in us, they showed us where their masters had buried their arms.

The release of the rebel prisoners on parole had made still further converts to abolition.

He had gone into the war for emancipation, and that alone. He felt proud of Massachusetts, and of her Governor. He wished to say that the soldiers improved in sentiment as the campaign advanced. There were some exceptions to this among the officers; these the government ought to remove, men far more ready to return a single fugitive than to have a fight with rebels (loud applause).

Mr. Earle was recalled to relate an incident in his own experience at Annapolis. Gen. Dix had forbidden any black men, bond or free, to enter the lines. A panting fugitive, fresh from flogging, came to Mr. Earle's beat (he was then a private standing guard). The slave was allowed to pass in, and was sent to the guard-house with Mr. Earle's blanket. Mr. Earle told Col. Upton next morning, if any officer in the regiment sent back a fugitive, *his* gun should go on the ground for three years, no matter what the consequences to himself. He would drag the ball and chain for years before he would lift a finger to send a poor fugitive back into slavery. When the master of the slave came, he was refused admission. He went off, and meanwhile the slave was sent on North, and is now in Worcester. After that, twenty-eight slaves were sent off from all the Massachusetts regiments at Annapolis, except Col. Morse's, who has since been removed through Gov. Andrew (applause).

Mrs. FOSTER said Mr. Earle had sustained her in her exclamation—Shame on those who fight for such a government! It is in complicity with the rebellion, for it might put an end to it in twenty-four hours, if it would. It is playing putting down the rebellion.

W. L. GARRISON spoke of his physical unfitness to make a speech to-night. He had been unable to attend the morning session at all. He said that from what he had learned of the course of the proceedings, there seemed to be a preponderance of gloomy sentiments. In these he had no sympathy, though aware of the complex and paradoxical state of affairs. For himself, he had no pulse that did not beat for President Lincoln against Jefferson Davis. Is there no difference between North and South? No difference between Jefferson Davis and President Lincoln? How, then, do we have a war? If government *designedly* is aiding rebellion, how do we happen to have a rebellion? Why is Lincoln outlawed from the South? Instinct is a great matter with slaveholders. The fact is, a great change has taken place in the country, culminating in Republicanism—which, though not abolitionism, has forbidden the South longer to abide with us. The North is at least anti-slavery enough for that. Mr. Garrison read extracts from Southern papers, showing that the hatred of the South, is directed against the North as a body, not against Abolitionists simply. The South hates freedom in name and every aspect. This conflict is the death-grapple between the two principles.

He, Mr. Garrison, had not been backward in censuring the President and Congress when they deserved it, though trying to give credit to whomsoever it was due. He thought, on the whole, the progress of events had been as great as could have been expected. Those who hold office by the will of the people cannot be judged wholly like private men. He believed the President would move with the people.

It has been said, this Administration has sent back more fugitives than any other. The cases were not parallel. That fugitive slaves were crowding into the District of Columbia, even though some were recaptured, was a proof of the value of emancipation in that District. Then, we have had a new and stringent treaty with England against the slave trade. Thousands of slaves, too, have been emancipated by the sanction of the government, and slaves are daily escaping in every direction. Northern Senators and Representatives, at last, have free speech on the floor of Congress. Indeed, the gains of freedom have been so rapid and magnificent, that we fail to appreciate them.

One thing remains; the ending of the war and the rebellion by emancipation, and the unity of the republic thereby made possible. The President hesitates, not so much from pro-slavery feeling as from timidity and excessive caution. He fails to realize the extent of public sentiment in favor of the total abolition of slavery. The proclamation of Gen. Fremont revealed how widespread was that sentiment, but the President was not then convinced of it. It will, however, ere long, become irresistible.

Mr. Garrison concluded by offering the following resolution in regard to the Church and Pulpit:

17. Resolved, That, now that slavery is placed within the grasp of the government, by its rebellious and treasonable attitude, the American Church and Pulpit, by refraining from demanding, in the name of the living God, the immediate liberation of the millions in bondage by the fiat of the government, fearfully enhance the guilt they have incurred by their long protracted and hearty religious complicity with slavery, and their persevering opposition to the Anti-Slavery movement.

[ERNESTINE L. ROSE and WENDELL PHILLIPS made addresses, but want of space compels us to omit the reporter's abstract.]

W. L. GARRISON then reported the following resolution:

19. Resolved, That we leave to their betrayed constituents those Massachusetts Representatives, who, through cowardice or lack of principle, defeated by their votes the bill for the confiscation of the slave property of the rebels; and doubt not that those constituents will be certain to send them into a dishonored retirement to be succeeded by others worthy to represent the cause of freedom according to its needs in the trial hour.

The series of resolutions reported by the Business Committee was then adopted by unanimous vote, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
WENDELL P. GARRISON,
} Secretaries.

## *MENDACITY OF THE NEW YORK OBSERVER.*

We can understand why a religious newspaper, first stigmatizing a class of Christian men as infidels, should afterwards never cease to misrepresent their opinions. But we cannot understand why such a journal should take equal delight in misrepresenting the views of an orthodox clergyman who belongs to its own circle of evangelical sects.

The New York *Observer* is telling lies of the Rev. Robert M. Hatfield. What is the reason? Is it from editorial habit? Is it for religious pastime? Is it from bitterness without cause? Or is it simply from the self-consistency of maintaining unbroken a thirty years record of falsehoods against anti-slavery men?

Our readers have seen the mean-spirited article which that journal put forth recently,* elicited by Mr. Hatfield's speech. Last week, it threw another handful of mud, as follows:

"OBLIGATION NO RULE.

"At the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society last week, the Rev. Mr. Hatfield said that the President of the United States is going forward in the cause of abolition as fast and as far as his obligations allow him; but, said Mr. Hatfield, 'I wish he would travel faster.'

"Here is just the difference between a conservative and a radical: between a man who is governed by a sense of obligation and one who is not.

"Mr. Hatfield's remark, which was received with loud applause, expressed the sentiments of the *Abolitionist* proper, while all conservative anti-slavery men, who earnestly desire to see slavery removed, regard Mr. Hatfield's idea as wicked in the extreme. Mr. Hatfield believes the President is going ahead as fast as his 'obligations allow,' but wishes he would go faster! Just so. And just there is the fatal fallacy of this whole school of radical reformers. *Obligation* binds a true, good man. Duty is supreme. We may never do wrong, even for the sake of pleasing these self-styled reformers. The President must be governed by his 'obligations'; by his oath to preserve the Constitution and execute the laws; and when 'a preacher' tells him to go faster than his obligations allow him, Mr. Lincoln would do well to take the words of Christ and say, 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offense unto me, for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.'"

Of course Mr. Hatfield said no such thing as *The Observer* attributes to him. His words, literally reported, were these:

"I do not know, sir, what our government is going to do with this question. I have great confidence in Uncle Abe—I think he is an honest man (applause). *I think he means to go just as fast and far as he can consistently* WITH HIS VIEWS *of his obligations*—obligations that he has recognized by his oath. *I wish he was in the way of going faster* (applause). I wish the way might be opened before him to take a little longer strides and be a little quicker in his motions; yet, God bless Uncle Abe!—I believe he is sound in the heart (loud applause)."

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Hatfield, while giving generous credit to the President for acting according to his views of duty, wished that the President's mind might be opened to *more enlightened* views of duty.

We need not say to *The Observer* (for that paper has not been in controversy with us these many years, without learning it long ago), that no persons in this country, or in any other, have ever presented to the world a more signal testimony of solemn respect for an oath than the class of men whom *The Observer* points out as anti-slavery reformers. Many of these have refused to give an oath to the Constitution, believing that an oath was too sacred to be used in supporting a pro-slavery instrument. Others have given the oath only from a conviction that the Constitution was susceptible of an anti-slavery interpretation and use. But in either case, the nature, the gravity, and the inviolability of the oath have been signally appreciated. No other class of men would be less likely to urge the President to violate his oath. They would maintain, that however great the emergency, the President, rather than violate his oath, ought to resign his office. But the President's oath is *not* in the way of his duty; for his oath was that he should *do* his duty: and it is to the performance of his duty that Mr. Hatfield and the Abolitionists are urging him, and will continue their appeals to the end, grateful for every little encouraging confirmation of their course, which they find from time to time in the hostility of our unneighborly neighbor, *The Observer*.

The speech of Mr. Hatfield, reported in our columns a few weeks ago, and the admirable lecture which he gave in this city last week (which we regret has found no report in the Press) contain more of the gospel of freedom and justice than can be found in the whole thirty-seven bound volumes of *The Observer*, from the beginning until now.

* See pro-slavery column in STANDARD of May 24.

## *TAKING AWAY THE KEY OF KNOWLEDGE.*

WE record with inexpressible indignation the shameful fact, that Edward Stanley, the new Military Governor of North Carolina, has ordered Mr. Colyer, the agent of the New York Young Men's Christian Association, to discontinue the schools for negroes opened by him in Gen. Burnside's Department. The news of this fact is contained in a letter from the Newbern (N. C.) correspondent of *The Times* (understood to be our well-tried anti-slavery friend, Elias Smith), who says:

"To-day (May 28th) the Commanding General, and other military officers, called to pay their respects to Gov. Stanley. Among others came Mr. Colyer, the Superintendent of the Poor, who is about the only person exercising any civil functions.

"In the course of conversation we inquired of Mr. Colyer what he had been doing, to which he replied, referring to the fact that he had opened schools in the town for the whites and blacks. The Governor stated, in the course of the interview, that there was one thing in Mr. Colyer's doings as Superintendent of the Poor, about which a question would be raised, and that was his keeping a school for the blacks. He said the laws of the State make the opening of such schools a criminal offence, and that he was to carry out the laws of North Carolina precisely as they were administered before the breaking out of this unhappy affair. *These were his instructions from Washington.* If he were called upon for a decision in the matter of the schools for the blacks he would have to decide against him. At the same time he did not wish anything done abruptly. As a man he might have done, perhaps, as Mr. Colyer had done, but as the Governor he would have to act in his official capacity, according to his instructions from Washington, and administer the laws as he found them. As I have heretofore stated, these schools were going on well. Seven hundred persons attended the two schools nightly, some of them old persons, with spectacles, poring over their quotations of the Bible, and little boys and girls eagerly mastering the first rudiments of learning. All this is to be instantly discontinued. Mr. Colyer, not wishing to do anything against law, is compelled to close his schools."

We are reluctant to believe that President Lincoln *intended*, by the terms of his instructions to Gov. Stanley, to suppress the negro schools. If such *was* his intention, he deserves and will receive the indignant censure of the people of the North. The act, in view of all the circumstances, is indescribably base and wicked. The probability is, that in instructing Gov. Stanley, in general terms, to enforce the laws of the State, these schools were not thought of; and of course, if such was the fact, the President will promptly interfere for their protection. If reverence for the laws of North Carolina is to be carried to such an extent, we wonder how the President will justify himself in sending a Governor into the State. Those laws certainly make no provision for the appointment of a Governor by the President of the United States; on the contrary, every act of such a Governor is in direct contravention of those laws.

The attempt to bribe North Carolina back into the Union by enforcing the laws which make it a crime to teach black people to read will justly bring down upon the government the indignation of the whole civilized world. It is simply infamous. We are glad to see that Congress is about to investigate the matter.

*Later.*—A letter from Elias Smith in *The Times* of Wednesday, gives full particulars of the breaking up of the negro schools by Gov. Stanley, and of the alarm and distress thereby caused among the Freedmen. Gov. Stanley has also commenced the infamous business of purchasing the loyalty of rebels by returning their slaves. The poor slaves within Gen. Burnside's department scattered like frightened birds, some taking to the swamps, others concealing themselves in out-of-the-way places. A perfect panic prevails. The officers and soldiers, Mr. Smith says, are generally indignant at the course pursued by the Governor. H. H. Helper, brother of the author of "The Impending Crisis," for mildly remonstrating with Gov. Stanley, was ordered to leave the State in the first vessel going North. The rebel slaveholders were exultant in view of these proceedings.

But it affords us intense satisfaction to be able to assure our readers that Gov. Stanley has been rebuked by the Administration, and required to revoke his infamous order. Our authority for this is the following telegram from Washington in *The Tribune* of Wednesday:

"WASHINGTON, June 3.

"The Rev. Dr. Tyng of New York, and Stephen Colwell of Philadelphia, representing the Freedmen's Associations of those cities, waited upon Secretary Stanton this morning, in company with Senator Sumner, to inquire into the authority under which Gov. Stanley issued his order closing the colored schools in North Carolina. These gentleman had official advices that this had been done from Vincent Collyer, who was teaching 1,500 loyal blacks, when the order was issued. Secretary Stanton showed them his instructions to Gov. Stanley, which contain not a word directing him to enforce the local laws of North Carolina. Nor do they in any other way authorize him to issue the order in question.

"Secretary Stanton also said that he would not remain one hour a member of an Administration which sanctioned such proceedings as that of Gov. Stanley, and read his visitors the letter which he had just written that functionary after consultation with the President, in which he was directed to revoke the obnoxious order, and to allow the schools to go on as heretofore. The commissions and instructions to Gov. Stanley and Andy Johnson were to-day sent in to the Senate in response to Senator Sumner's resolution of inquiry.

"The Commissions simply constitute them Military Governors of their respective States to keep the peace and maintain the National power. Their instructions are in very general terms, and prescribe duties such are suggested in their Commissions, as quoted above. Not a word in either about enforcing local laws."

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN WASHINGTON.—The Washington correspondent of *The Times*, under date May 30, says:

"The Circuit Court to-day formally refused a writ of *habeas corpus* for the discharge of an alleged fugitive slave. Subscriptions of money are being pledged to employ eminent counsel to test the legality of the application of the Fugitive Slave law to the District of Columbia before the Supreme Court of the United States. The claimant of the female slave recently arrested from Marshal Lamon by the military authorities, is about entering a suit against him for the recovery of the value of the woman.

"Of some eleven hundred contrabands who have been quartered at Duff Green's Row, east of the Capitol, only one has expressed a desire to return to slavery. Many have objected to situations in Maryland, Delaware or any slave State. None of those from Virginia have been delivered to their masters. Several from Maryland having been fully identified, and belonging to loyal men, have been returned. The quarters are frequently visited by masters in search of their chattels, but Gen. Wadsworth permits none to be taken off without a hearing. Those now remaining are principally women and children. The latter of every hue from coal black to nearly white. Besides the men and lads sent to work on Arlington farm, many others have been placed in situations where they will obtain fair wages and good treatment. The conduct of some of the Maryland masters who have lately visited the quarters, has shown them to be filled with enmity to the government, though professed Unionists. One openly asserted today, that the masters should surround the building, take all the negroes, and if the National troops interfered, shoot them like dogs."

CONTINENTAL MONTHLY.—We have received the June number of this popular Magazine. The contents are: The Constitution and Slavery, Rev. C. E. Lord; Story of Mexican Life; The Red, White and Blue; Maccaroni and Canvass; En Evant; Desperation and Colonization, Chas. G. Leland; The Education to be, Levi Reuben, M.D.; Travel Pictures, Henry T. Lee; The Huguenots on Staten Island, Hon. G. P. Disosway; Recollections of Washington Irving—by one of his Early Friends; New England's Advance, Augusta C. Kimball; Was he Successful? Richard B. Kimball; Monroe Farragut, Charles G. Leland; Among the Pines, Edmund Kirk; Literary Notices, Editor's Table. Address A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington street, Boston.

## Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1862.

THE government has evidently committed a blunder, and one of considerable magnitude. Was it in calling out the militia and other troops throughout the country? Or was it in revoking the order calling out the troops? One or the other movement was a tremendous mistake. Sunday night, when it was known that Banks had been attacked by the enemy, but when it was *not* known that he had retreated in good order, the President and Secretary Stanton were evidently very anxious, a good deal alarmed, and possibly in a panic. It was then that the sensation dispatches were sent to the different Governors, and the militia regiments were ordered on to Washington. Was it a mistake? If it was not, then it certainly was a prodigious blunder to revoke the orders on Monday night that were sent out on Sunday.

It were useless to deny that the reverse in the Shenandoah valley has put quite a different face upon the position of our armies and the condition of the government as foreign nations are sure to view it. Two weeks ago there was a confident feeling that the rebellion was near its end—that the rebel armies were whipped, demoralized, and about ready to capitulate. The sudden raid up the Shenandoah startled the government and the nation, and it is now perceived that the rebellion still has vitality, still has troops capable of winning victories, and that, after all our boasts, it is very doubtful whether we can put it down with the means now employed.

Two weeks ago to-day, Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation revoking Hunter's order. One week ago his forces were flying before the slaveholders of Virginia in the valley of the Shenandoah, and even now there is a gloominess at the Presidential mansion, or at least a seriousness, that betokens profound anxiety. It is not improbable that the President is already looking forward to other means than those he is now using, with which he will finish the war. The crisis is upon us, and we must use the necessary means to put down the rebellion, or the rebels will seize upon them to secure their final triumph and success. This view of the subject has been urged upon Mr. Lincoln, and he has given it a respectful hearing, and probably deep thought.

The reverse at Winchester strengthened the anti-slavery sentiment in Congress, I think, though on Monday the House voted to lay the Emancipation bill, as it is called, upon the table. By Wednesday the full effect of the reverse was felt, and the House *voted to reconsider* its action of Monday. It is now nearly certain that the House will pass the Eliot Emancipation bill, somewhat modified. Whether the Senate will do so or not is quite another thing. I confess that I care little about the Confiscation bill, so far as "rebel property" is concerned. If we triumph, no matter how many confiscation bills are passed, the real estate, and even the personal effects of the rebels will go untouched. But an act which sets the slaves of rebels free is a different matter. Set a slave free once, inasmuch as he has soul and legs, it is hard work to remand him to his old condition. He is not like a horse, to be led quietly back into his stable when he has once got out. The confiscation of the slaves of the rebels is the most important bill before Congress, and it is hoped that it will pass both the House and Senate. The prospect in the House is good, perhaps better than it is in the Senate.

There was an occurrence in the House on Thursday which serves to illustrate the stupidity or the dishonesty of certain members of that body. That I may not be accused of partiality or of exaggeration, I will give *The Tribune's* statement of the principal facts. It is as follows:

"The House of Representatives to-day, by six majority, voted *The National Intelligencer* a gratuity of $35,500. The ostensible object of the appropriation was for the purchase from Messrs. Gales and Seaton of 100 additional copies of the Annals of Congress, at $3 55 apiece. There are now over 100 copies of this work in the different Congressional Libraries, and the necessity for purchasing one hundred more was not apparent to a large minority of the members, but the majority had apparently satisfied themselves that there is plenty of money in these war times to spare from the Treasury for the purpose of keeping the 'dear old' *Intelligencer* alive.

"The Democratic Border State and Conservative members, with a few honorable exceptions, voted for the resolution. Conspicuous among its supporters were some of the loudest declaimers against the expenses of the government, such as Voorhees of Indiana. Enough Republicans joined these patriots to carry the measure, among them Mr. Walton of Vermont, who was urgent for its passage; several other members from New England, and Thaddeus Stevens, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. Not having the Yeas and Nays before us, we cannot to-night mete out to each man his measure of justice."

Now please examine the facts of this monstrous transaction, if you please. *The Intelligencer* is a newspaper which arrays itself against the Republicans *on every question connected with slavery.* It supports such men as Judge Thomas of Mass., Cowan of Pa., Browning of Ill.—in short, it stands by the Conservatives. Its influence is felt in Congress when great questions are decided pertaining to slavery. *The Intelligencer*, because it is old fogyish and entirely behind the times, does not pay, and must have jobs like this or perish. It might be well enough, or at least appropriate enough for pro-slavery men to vote such supplies to their favorite sheet, but what are we to think of professed Republicans—anti-slavery Republicans—who give such votes? Yet this immense job was carried by such anti-slavery men as Mr. Alley of Mass., Mr. Aldrich of Wisconsin, etc., etc. It seems as if the Republican party was *determined* to commit suicide. Do its members suppose it to be possible to perpetuate the organization through such acts as this? The next House will probably be Democratic, and if so, the Republicans have themselves to thank for the result. The people will not tolerate men who reward their enemies and punish their friends—and they should not. A pro-slavery newspaper fares better to-day under the present Administration than an anti-slavery journal, and a pro-slavery Democrat can get an office quicker than an anti-slavery man.

Standing on one of our principal avenues the other day, I heard a young man croaking over the condition of the war and the prospects for its speedy termination. Said he, "The South has more men in the field than we—and they will fight better. They are fighting *for their homes*, and we are not. I tell you a great many people are getting sick of the war and are ready for peace." "Upon the basis of separation?" I inquired. "Yes," was his reply. "But where will you draw the line?" I again asked. "There's the trouble," said he; "the fact is, when you come to that, we of Southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, *will go with the South!*" "But that is rank treason," I suggested. "I can't help that—*our interests lie that way*," was the reply. Yet the man who uttered that abominable treason, three or four days ago was nominated to the lucrative position of Brigade Quartermaster, and his name is now before the Senate for confirmation. If he had been a Western anti-slavery man, he would have not got the place; but doubtless some Senator, just as likely as not some anti-slavery Senator, actually requested the President to make the appointment. These blunders, inconsistencies, and political crimes are continually occurring here, and it is what ensures the fate of the Republican party. Its leaders are ashamed of their principles, and afraid to recognize their supporters. I do not mean by this that the leading Republicans in Congress do not stand by their principles. *They do.* But there are just enough of weak and timid men to entail upon the party the consequences of political cowardice.

The Senate is trying hard to get ready for an early adjournment. The first of July is now spoken of as the time. A short time ago some leading Senators spoke of prolonging the session quite late, and even of taking a short summer recess and remaining in power till the autumn. But the temptations to get home are so great that members will not remain here longer than they are compelled to do. If the pay was by the day, the session would extend to September, but the Congressional elections are coming off in the West, and they must be attended to. There are many persons in Congress who really believe it to be better to leave the entire management of the war to the President, without any interference on the part of Congress. Others believe directly to the contrary, but the influences in favor of an early adjournment are so powerful that they will triumph.

The atrocities committed by the rebels at Front Royal and Winchester, have awakened a very strong feeling in and out of our army towards the slaveholding scoundrels who instigate, if they do not commit, these outrages. Gen. McClellan puts a guard round the houses of unblushing rebels, to protect their property against our soldiers, but this leniency will not long be borne. It has been reported that even Gen. McClellan has at last got indignant, and that he will not give up Mrs. Gen. Lee and daughters until the rebels carry out their arrangement by which Col. Corcoran was to be released.

There is a good deal of excitement here this morning over the fighting on Saturday and Sunday before Richmond. The government is anxious, very anxious for the future. It is evident that McClellan has got all that he can possibly attend to at Richmond—perhaps more than he can triumph over.

It is rumored to-day that Gov. Stanley of North Carolina has broken up the colored schools at Newbern, established by Northern missionaries, and that the President gave him the authority to do so. It would seem as if the late reverses of our arms would teach the President a lesson before it is too late to save the nation. The path to Union does not lie through any more subserviency to slaveholders. It is very difficult to convince some members of the Administration of this fact.

AVON.

## *PERSONAL.*

Gov. Sprague of Rhode Island has been elected Senator from that State, for six years, from the 4th of March next. He takes the place of Senator Simmons.

John M. Broadhead, of the District of Columbia, has been appointed by the President one of the Commissioners, under the act for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia, in place of Mr. Vinton, deceased.

Col. Charles R. Jennison, of the Seventh Kansas Volunteers, and who lately fell under the displeasure of his pro-slavery superiors in rank on account of his abolitionism, has been restored to his original position by express order of the President. It is understood that he will be put immediately in command of a brigade, to operate in Western Arkansas and the Indian Territory.

We are glad, says the Boston *Transcript*, to announce that the venerable Josiah Quincy, now upwards of ninety years of age, having been confined to his house many months, in consequence of a fractured limb, has so far recovered that he rode out on Monday last, and stopped to greet his friends on 'Change. He was in his usual vivacious temperament of mind, and received numerous congratulations with great cordiality.

Mrs. Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, addressed a large and very attentive assembly at the meeting of Friends in Rutherford Place last Sunday morning. She did not forget to plead the cause of the enslaved, and to urge her hearers to labor earnestly to deliver them from the house of bondage. She spoke to another audience in Brooklyn in the afternoon, when we doubt not she was equally faithful.

James Miller McKim, in company with his daughter Lucy, and Miss Ellen Murray of Newport, sailed from this city for Port Royal, S. C., on Tuesday last, in the transport ship Arago. Mr. McKim has gone under the auspices of the Philadelphia Freedman's Association, on a tour of observation and inquiry in reference to the great social experiment now in progress among the blacks in the military department of Gen. Hunter. He carries with him the eye as well as heart of an Abolitionist, and the friends of the anti-slavery cause may well felicitate themselves in prospect of hearing from him, in due time, the results of his inquiries in that important field. It is not unlikely that he may have an opportunity to visit Charleston before he returns, in which case we hope our readers will have the benefit of a letter from his pen. He is expected to return within a month.

Rev. Samuel J. May lately went to the army below Washington to superintend the distribution of six large boxes and two barrels full of clothes, and other comforts, contributed for the sick and wounded soldiers by the ladies of Syracuse. He was expected to visit Baltimore, Washington, Fortress Monroe, Yorktown, Williamsburg, and, probably, Richmond. A writer in *The Liberator* well says: "Wherever he goes, his presence will be a real benediction to the suffering and sorrowing; especially to those of them from Central New York and his own immediate vicinity. His countenance itself, as his friend Theodore Parker used to say, 'is a perpetual *May*'; and the blessings of hundreds that have been ready to perish are upon him, in return for his great benevolence—a benevolence proverbial throughout the region in which he lives, and as refreshing as proverbial."

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.—In a report, in a Boston paper, of remarks made in the late Unitarian Festival there by the Rev. Dr. Osgood, of the Church of the Messiah in this city, we find these lines:

"The speaker closed by saying that he never was in favor of turning the late Theodore Parker out of the Unitarian Church. Although he claimed the right to differ from him, yet he thought he was honest in his principles."

Another paper makes the record thus:

"He spoke of the radical and conservative elements in the Unitarian body and thought. The time had come for accepting and uniting all true thinkers and workers. We need such bold moralists as Theodore Parker, and they are all the more valuable for being associated with minds of more conservative temper and more positive Church principles."

It is certainly to be lamented that Dr. Osgood, if he was really opposed to the war of proscription so long waged by the Unitarian leaders against Theodore Parker, did not muster courage enough to say so while that noble man was yet alive, and to plant himself by his side as a champion of free thought, instead of being always found in apparent sympathy with his persecutors. But better late than never.

One of the papers also reports Dr. Osgood as saying, "He questioned whether we *agitated* enough in our pulpits; we had too much of the quietude of Cambridge." This from the pastor of the Church of the Messiah! Can we any longer doubt that the world moves?

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June brings the usual variety of excellent matter. We give a list of the articles: Walking, by Henry D. Thoreau; War and Literature, by John Weiss; An Order for a Picture, by Alice Carey; The South Breaker, Part II., by Harriet E. Prescott; The Sam Adams Regiments of the Town of Boston, by Richard Frothingham; Out of the Body to God, by Rose Terry; The Health of our Girls, by T. W. Higginson; The Horrors of San Domingo, by John Weiss; Sonnet, by F. G. Tuckerman; Methods of Study in Natural History, by Louis Agassiz; The Author of Charles Auchester, by Harriet E. Prescott; Astrea at the Capitol, by J. G. Whittier; Pere Antoine's Date Palm, by T. B. Aldrich; Solid Operations in Virginia, by Edward Everett Hale; Sunthin' in the Pastoral Line (Biglow Paper), by James Russell Lowell. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

NEW COURSE OF LECTURES.—A course of lectures on subjects bearing upon the times, and the duties and responsibilities of the loyal citizens of the United States in the present crisis, is on the eve of inauguration. The Hon. James Lane, United States Senator from Kansas, will deliver the opening lecture of the course, at the Cooper Institute. He will be followed by Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, Senator Bingham of Michigan, the Hon. Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, and other gentlemen.

NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report of the American Society, entitled, *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year*, by sending a request to that effect to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 221 Washington street, Boston, and enclosing stamps sufficient to prepay the postage, viz., *fourteen cents*.

## Chronicles of the War.

WE have room only to say, under this head, that Corinth has been evacuated, and that the place is in possession of Gen. Halleck, a portion of whose force is in pursuit of the flying enemy, with a fair chance of cutting off his retreat; that Gen. McClellan has approached very near to Richmond, that on last Saturday and Sunday he had a severe engagement with the rebels on his right, in which he was victorious, and that another and still more bloody battle must soon decide the fate of the rebel Capital; that the rebel force in the Shenandoah valley, which so lately compelled Gen. Banks to retreat to Harper's Ferry, is now flying before Fremont and other Union commanders, by whom it is likely to be captured. We must refer our readers to other sources for details of these and other events of the past week.

## Proceedings of Congress.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

May 29th, Mr. Willey (Union, Va.) called up the memorial of the Legislature of Virginia with reference to the division of that Commonwealth and the admission of Western Virginia as a new State. He made a strong plea in support of the memorial, claiming that reason and justice were both in favor of a new State. There was a sufficient number of inhabitants there, and western Virginia was completely divided from the Eastern half by the Alleghany Mountains. Nature seems to have divided the two. Commerce and industry both demand a separation. There has never been but little commercial intercourse between Western and Eastern Virginia. The difference of the social institutions and habits of both indicate separation. Slavery cannot exist in Western Virginia, and why should the people of that section be compelled to be subjected to a system of laws calculated for slavery, which exists in Virginia? The geographical position, climate, natural productions, and moral and religious sentiment of the people, absolutely forbid the existence of slavery in Western Virginia. The memorial was referred to the Committee on Territories.

TAX UPON SLAVES.

The question of laying a tax on slaves divides the Republican party in Congress, some members strenuously opposing the measure as a virtual acknowledgment that slaves are property, and others contending strenuously that the slaveholders, having originated the rebellion, ought to be compelled to pay in proportion to the number of chattels they claim respectively. In the Senate on the 29th, this feature of the tax bill was rejected, 22 to 14. The Massachusetts Senators, we observe, divided on this question, Mr. Sumner voting for the tax, Mr. Wilson against it. So also did the Senators from New York, Mr. Harris voting for and Mr. King against the tax.

PETITION OF A SLAVE.

In the Senate on the 30th ult., Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts (Rep.) presented the petition of Eliza Diggs, a female slave, who is owned in the District of Columbia, but hired out in Maryland, her owner not having placed her name in the list of those to be emancipated under the act.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

In the House on the 29th, Mr. Hickman (Rep., Pa.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## THE WILL FOR THE DEED.

A POEM FOR THE TIMES.

BY CAROLINE M. MASON.

No sword have I, no battle-blade
Nor shining spear; how shall I aid
My Country in her great crusade?

I cannot sow with gold the sod,
Like dragons' teeth, and from the clod
See armed men rise, battle-shod.

I may not stand in mart or hall,
And shout aloud great Freedom's call:
"Come to the rescue, one and all!"

I am a woman, weak and slight—
No voice to plead, no arm to fight—
Yet burning to support the Right.

How shall I aid my Country's cause?
How help avenge her trampled laws?
Alas! my woman's heart makes pause.

With oil and wine I may not go
Where wounded men toss to and fro,
Beneath the invader's hand laid low.

My little child looks up to me,
And lisps a stronger, mightier plea;
God wills where he is I should be.

Ah! well, I am not needed. He
Who knows my heart, perchance, for me
Has other work than now I see.

"They also serve who stand and wait."
Oh, golden words! and not too late.
My soul accepts her humbler fate,

Content to serve in any way—
Less than the least—if so I may
But hail the dawning of that day

When my beloved land shall rise,
And shout as one man to the skies,
Lo! Freedom lives, and Slavery dies!

Fitchburg, May, 1861.—*Salem Register.*

## TORY HATRED OF THE UNITED STATES.

From The London Daily News.

FIFTY or a hundred years hence the impunity, and even success, which have, during the past year, attended the passionate and bitter denunciations, by half-a-dozen leading English newspapers and magazines, of the efforts of the American people to maintain and perpetuate their government, will furnish a curious subject of study to the historian. And he will find it no easy matter to explain it. The United States preserved down to the outbreak of the war everything which we profess to consider most valuable in English political institutions, and the want of which on the Continent makes us shed tears of pity over the French and Germans and Romans—freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and representative government. The language was the same, the religion the same, and all the great and essential features of character were the same. The manners, to be sure, were different, but not more so than those of Australia, Canada, or any other of our Colonies, in which the newness of the country and immensity of the field of labor has rendered social distinctions, valued at home, worthless, and given all the prizes of life to energy and industry. And yet Canada and Australia are constant subjects of hope and admiration in spite of "manhood suffrage," and "the absence of the property qualification." America, to be sure, broke loose from us by force, but we have for at least fifty years been unanimously of opinion that she did right. Her reassertion of the great doctrines of the Constitution in 1776 did much for their preservation in England through the evil days which followed the French Revolution, and in the great Anglo-Saxon Valhalla WASHINGTON sits side by side with HAMPDEN. The United States undoubtedly have no aristocracy; but neither will this account for English rejoicings over their dismemberment; because nobody in England holds that the production and support of an aristocracy is the only legitimate end either of our political system or of any other. The craziest Tory does not believe, or would be ashamed to avow it if he did believe it, that the only mission of a nation is to hatch earls and country gentlemen. The received doctrine, even in the best West-end circles, on this subject is, that lords and squires are a means, not an end; that they are not the object of government, but an invaluable aid in carrying it on; that in England, far from the nation existing for their sake, they exist for the nation's sake; that, in fact, their *raison d'être* lies in their furnishing the surest defence of English liberty. No foreigner ever assails the institution without being demolished by this argument—and a very sound argument it is. But there is nothing in it to explain the savage hostility excited by American efforts to attain the same ends by other means. The American considers, as we do, freedom and security the greatest blessings of this life. His forefathers carried the love of them to the New World, and not having an aristocracy to aid in retaining them, he has done the best he can with his materials, by seeking to retain them through a democracy. The worst possible view we can take of his position is, that his not having an enlightened nobility to aid him in governing himself is a great misfortune—a fault it cannot be. Real aristocracies grow; they cannot be made to order. All those that exist in Europe have been bequeathed to us by the middle ages. That which grew up in Venice, without the aid of conquest or of feudalism, took seven hundred years to mature itself. The attempts of the French to supply the place of the one they have destroyed have been amongst the saddest of their many political failures, and have furnished a good deal of amusement to some of the best bred portions of English society. Now, if we only love aristocracy as we profess to love it, as a means to freedom and greatness, and not, as some ill-natured foreign critics would have the world believe, because it furnishes fetishes for flunkies to worship, the efforts of a people who have no aristocracy, and cannot have one, to be free and great without it, so far from exciting our indignation and ill-will, ought to excite our deepest commiseration. We ought to witness their struggles to bring their great experiment to a successful issue, without having a single "natural leader" to teach them wisdom or inspire them with courage, in the same spirit in which we should look upon the efforts of freemen to defend their soil without other weapons than slings and bows and arrows.

What, however, will puzzle the historian even more than this is the fact, which will confront him at the very commencement of his inquiry, that those journals and orators who are most satisfied that American institutions are a failure, and that those Americans who are fighting in their defence are no better than murderers, steadfastly refuse to pay the slightest attention to what the Americans themselves have to say on the subject. They will take anybody's testimony about the value of the government sooner than that of the men who live under it. Every Englishman who has made a summer tour in the States, and been disgusted by the want of reverence for his person displayed by the Yankee population, has been listened to with religious attention during the past year, while he congratulated "the nobility, gentry, and clergy" upon the vices and diseases of American democracy. But when the twenty million of people at the North, who live under the monster, come forward and declare that there is in their eyes no better government in the world—that they have enjoyed freedom and happiness under it to the utmost extent of their desires, and that they consider their lives and fortunes but a small price to pay for its maintenance, they are held up to the execration of all England as hardened ruffians, who are bent on murder and pillage. Considering the respect with which we all listen to the opinions of Romans and Neapolitans about the value of the institutions they live under—ignorant, degraded, and demoralized as the mass of them are—will it not seem passing strange that we should pay no heed to the opinions upon a similar subject of twenty million of our own race and creed, long trained in the management of their own affairs, and inheritors of our law and language, and morality? If the Americans who support their government and testify in its favor were simply the poor of the country, it would at once explain Tory indifference to what they say or do. But this will not avail in this instance. The property and intelligence of America are unquestionably on the side of the Union. The Chamber of Commerce of New York, which has just thanked Mr. Bright for defending the government which its members hope to bequeath intact to their children, is a body composed of merchants who are amongst the richest in the world, and who have more to fear from "mob law" than nine-tenths of the politicians on this side of the water who have during the past twelve months been assuring the English public that there was no other kind of law in America.

There is, however, in the whole range of English comment on American affairs nothing more singular and curious than the reason put forward most frequently by the Tory haters of America for sympathizing with Mr. Jefferson Davis and his Confederates. It appears that what has driven the South into revolt, or what entitles it to English good wishes, is the dislike of the slaveholders to be governed by "the majority." If the Southern slaveholders were the first body in the world who had found the rule of the majority an intolerable affliction, we confess we should ourselves, little as we like them, find some difficulty in restraining our feelings on hearing their story. A case of distress is always rendered more moving by being novel or peculiar. But, unfortunately for the cotton "chivalry," their grievance is an old one from which a great many brave men are suffering a good deal of inconvenience at this moment. Nothing but the scandalous tyranny of the majority of the French nation prevents a little band of heroes from reorganizing French society upon a plan which Messrs. Davis and Floyd must certainly approve of, by taking from everybody everything which he possesses, and giving him back simply what an enlightened minority think his capacities entitle him to. And we must say, that if courage in defending wild and wicked doctrines entitle men to our sympathy, the French communists have done far more to earn it than the Southern slaveholders. The armies of the Confederation must achieve something much grander than the victory of Bull's Run or the defence of Fort Donelson before they will stand in the same rank as soldiers with the "minority" which menaced property and civilization with destruction by their desperate valor during the three days of June, 1848, in Paris. We can assure them, however, of one thing—that whether they be valiant or cowardly, surrender now or a year hence, the English people are not such fools as to be seduced into loving them or their cause simply because they are few and weak, and their enemies are numerous and powerful. There is no knowing what Tory newspapers and lectures may yet accomplish, but it is certain that we are not so stupid or base as to give our blessing to every band of malcontents that rises against law and government, for the sole reason that the majority of the nation are against them. There is for us no magic in the word "minority" any more than in the word "majority." Kidnappers, buccaneers, cattle-lifters, dealers in men and women, socialists, and enemies of knowledge, of property, and of civilization generally; all, thank Heaven, constitute a minority, and always have done so; and society, owing to a laudable anxiety for its own safety, consequently generally inquires what "minorities" seek before it applauds their efforts. Whenever we clasp the King of Naples and his "minority" to our bosom, Mr. Jefferson Davis may feel sure that a similar embrace is in store for him and his.

## SCENES IN WASHINGTON.

Correspondence of The Independent.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26, 1862.

There will no end to slavery agitation till slavery itself is at an end. When slavery was abolished in the District, some sanguine persons imagined that the agitation of the whole question was set at rest. It was not so. This very day there is more excitement, more agitation, on the subject of slavery here, than there was when slavery was defended by the statutes of the District. And there should be agitation here, for Washington, during the last week, has been turned into a pandemonium. There is not a Capital in the world in which such atrocities are committed as those which have made honest men blush in our streets during the last few days. For the first time since the war broke out, I have despaired of success in this war against the rebellion—it has sometimes during the past week seemed as if God would not permit a government and people who wink at such things to triumph. Let me particularize.

On Friday evening, while taking a leisurely walk upon our great street, Pennsylvania avenue, I saw a white fiend pounce upon a young colored man, who, neatly dressed, was passing up the street with his young wife. The first act of the officer was to knock the negro down, or nearly so, to prove the white man's superiority. He then collared him, every now and then shaking him, as if he were a dog, instead of a man. "I am not a slave!" cried the victim. "Hold your tongue!" was the reply. The poor wife followed crying, beseeching, "Don't take him off—he is not a slave. Where are you taking him to? Don't strike him in that way. Oh dear! Oh dear!" Reply from the white brute: "Keep still, now *mind*, will you? I'll arrest *you*, if you don't!" That scene I witnessed while taking a little walk after dinner upon the Broadway of the Capital, and it was but one case out of a hundred that have made the last week one of horrors in the Capital of a country professing to be Christian and free. The shrieks of wretched slaves have been heard night and morning, at noonday and at midnight, until it has become too terrible for a man with ordinary sympathies to bear.

A few days since a Maryland slaveholder came here and got a warrant for his fugitive slave. He succeeded in capturing him, put manacles upon his wrists, and just at night started off with him for his somewhat distant home. In the course of the evening the poor fellow escaped the second time, and the master being on horseback failed to capture him. After repeated struggles the captive broke his chains in twain, but the links still clung to his wrists. When the next morning's sunlight fell upon the marble walls of the Capitol it revealed a sight to make a man ashamed of home, country, government—almost of his race. There sat the panting negro *on the Capitol steps*, the iron links of his manacles jingling against the marble column upon which he leaned. Was he guilty of any crime? Nothing. He simply desired to own his own body and soul, and in attempting to assert this right he fled to the American Capitol. There was no protection for him there, and the wretched man was again recaptured and dragged off to jail.

If this government will protect such Heaven-defying atrocities, does it deserve success in the war it is waging? What act of the Jefferson Davis government is any more heinous in the sight of God than the seizure of innocent men and women by the agents of the government, that they may be returned to slavery?

Congress is mainly responsible for this. It can repeal the Fugitive law. If it does not, then we have the confession before the world, that under the Constitution every voter in the free States is made directly responsible for the worst outrages of slavery.

## NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DELUSIONS.

[The New York *Times* publishes every now and then a profoundly able essay on public affairs, under the signature of "A Veteran Observer." From the latest of those essays we give an extract:]

WOULD either of us, observing a patient ass crouching down to his master, and bending under his burden, expect him to spring up with the ferocity of a lion, only because we put a little more on his load? So had the South seen the unresisting patience of the North. We had submitted to put the seat of government in a slave district. We had bought slave territory. We had gone to war with Mexico for slave States. We had added new slave States. We had kept a majority of all the men, in the administration of the government, from slave States, having a minority of the people. In fine, the government was administered as if slavery was its only element, the Slave Power its only object.

This pro-slavery Administration finally culminated in two of the greatest enormities which ever signalled the pages of modern history—the Kansas frauds and the Dred Scott decision. I challenge any man, since the days of Jeffries, to find the equal of either. Yet in all this there was no resistance, no rebellion, no attempt to interrupt the process of the National government. On the contrary, we are told and taught that Southern trade—the sale of tin-kettles, washtubs, and spelling-books—was worth more than the sense of independence, or the security of human rights? Had not the South a right, after this, to doubt of war? Was not this a patience which rivalled that of the ass under his burden? If the North had, in 1820, 1832, and 1850, failed to exercise its power, or resist the usurpations of slavery, could it be expected ever to do so?

But there have been delusions in both South and North, which are now apparent, and which history will recognize. It is a delusion in the North to suppose the coexistence of free and slave States possible for any great length of time; it is a delusion in the North to suppose an aristocracy will not fight for its existence to the last end; it is a delusion in the North to suppose that the aristocracy relates only to the blacks; it is a delusion in the North to suppose that the South is materially weakened by the blacks; it is a delusion in the North to suppose the poor whites of the South will side with the North against their own aristocracy; finally, it is a delusion in the North to suppose that there are any means of pacification short of *utterly subduing the aristocracy of slavery*—or, what is equivalent, putting it completely under the feet of the government, by disfranchising all the rebels.

On the other hand, the delusions of the South have been quite as numerous, and far more injurious. It was a great delusion in the South to suppose that secession was possible without war; it was a great delusion in the South to suppose there was any *party* at the North able, if willing, to assist them after they had fired on the National flag. It was a monstrous delusion to suppose that Cotton was King; it was a delusion to suppose that the North had no idea but that of trade; it was a delusion to suppose any foreign nation had any interest in fighting for a Southern rebellion; it was a great delusion to suppose that Southern chivalry was superior to that of the North; it is a great delusion to suppose that when the cavalier is pitted against the Puritan, the cavalier will not go down in the battle. The spirit of Cromwell's soldiers still lives—and lives to fight the last descendants of the Stuarts or the Bourbons, wherever found on earth. The battle has been long—the battle may be long yet—but the order of castes, of slavery, of haughty aristocracy built upon the wrongs and plunder of the human race, must go down in the long conflict of ideas, and the terrible combat of embattled hosts. There will be an aristocracy while the world lasts, but it will be that which God made—the aristocracy of Work, of exalted Virtue, and of noble Genius.

The PACIFICATION of the South will be easy, if it is done right, and not otherwise. Since the Southern States, as States, are at war with the government, all the *strongholds* of the South—such as the great railroad points and large cities—*must be held by military occupation;* next, the property of *open rebels* engaged in the war must be *confiscated;* thirdly, rebels must be disfranchised; fourthly, the State governments must be reorganized by loyal citizens. This accomplishes three main things, viz: 1. Security for the future. 2. The reorganization of the State governments; and 3. The ultimate exile and disfranchisement of the leading and active members of the political aristocracy. In a short time, all commercial and agricultural operations will go on as usual. The *leaven* of rebellion will be destroyed; the causes of insurrection will cease, and the Union be restored.

## AN ORDER FOR A PICTURE.

BY ALICE CAREY.

O good painter, tell me true,
Has your hand the cunning to draw
Shapes of things that you never saw?
Ay? Well, here is an order for you.

Woods and cornfields, a little brown—
The picture must not be over-bright—
Yet all in the golden and gracious light
Of a cloud, when the summer sun is down.

Alway and alway, night and morn,
Woods upon woods, with fields of corn
Lying between them, not quite sere,
And not in the full, thick, leafy bloom,
When the wind can hardly find breathing-room
Under their tassels,—cattle near,
Biting shorter the short green grass,
And a hedge of sumach and sassafras,
With bluebirds twittering all around,—
(Ah, good painter, you can't paint sound!)—
These, and the house where I was born,
Low and little, and black and old,
With children, many as it can hold,
All at the windows, open wide,—
Heads and shoulders clear outside,
And fair young faces all ablush:
Perhaps you may have seen, some day,
Roses crowding the self-same way,
Out of a wilding, way-side bush.

Listen closer. When you have done
With woods and cornfields and grazing herds,
A lady, the loveliest ever the sun
Looked down upon, you must paint for me:
Oh, if I only could make you see
The clear blue eyes, the tender smile,
The sovereign sweetness, the gentle grace,
The woman's soul, and the angel's face
That are beaming on me all the while,
I need not speak these foolish words:
Yet one word tells you all I would say,—
She is my mother: you will agree
That all the rest may be thrown away.

Two little urchins at her knee
You must paint, sir: one like me,—
The other with a clearer brow,
And the light of his adventurous eyes
Flashing with boldest enterprise:
At ten years old he went to sea,—
God knoweth if he be living now,—
He sailed in the good ship "Commodore,"—
Nobody ever crossed her track
To bring us news, and she never came back.
Ah, 't is twenty long years and more
Since that old ship went out of the bay
With my great-hearted brother on her deck:
I watched him till he shrank to a speck,
And his face was toward me all the way.

Bright his hair was, a golden brown,
The time we stood at our mother's knee:
That beauteous head, if it did go down,
Carried sunshine into the sea!

Out in the fields one summer night
We were together, half afraid
Of the corn-leaves' rustling, and of the shade
Of the high hills, stretching so still and far,—
Loitering till after the low little light
Of the candle shone through the open door,
And over the hay-stack's pointed top,
All of a tremble, and ready to drop,
The first half-hour, the great yellow star,
That we, with staring, ignorant eyes,
Had often and often watched to see
Propped and held in its place in the skies
By the fork of a tall red mulberry-tree,
Which close in the edge of our flax-field grew,—
Dead at the top,—just one branch full
Of leaves, notched round, and lined with wool,
From which it tenderly shook the dew
Over our heads, when we came to play
In its handbreadth of shadow, day after day.
Afraid to go home, sir; for one of us bore
A nest full of speckled and thin-shelled eggs,—
The other, a bird, held fast by the legs,
Not so big as a straw of wheat:
The berries we gave her she would n't eat,
But cried and cried, till we held her bill,
So slim and shining, to keep her still.

At last we stood at our mother's knee.
Do you think, sir, if you try,
You can paint the look of a lie?
If you can, pray have the grace
To put it solely in the face
Of the urchin that is likest me:
I think 't was solely mine, indeed:
But that 's no matter,—paint it so;
The eyes of our mother—(take good heed)—
Looking not on the nest-full of eggs,
Nor the fluttering bird, held so fast by the legs,
But straight through our faces down to our lies,
And, oh, with such injured, reproachful surprise!
I felt my heart bleed where that glance went, as though
A sharp blade struck through it.
You, sir, know,
That you on the canvas are to repeat
Things that are fairest, things most sweet,—
Woods and cornfields and mulberry-tree,—
The mother,—the lads, with their bird, at her knee:
But, oh, that look of reproachful woe!
High as the heavens your name I'll shout,
If you paint me the picture, and leave that out.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

## THEODORE PARKER.

ONCE upon a time, in a little country town, there was a poor farmer's boy who had to work very hard to get his daily bread. He was an apt student, and when he was only ten years old had learned all that he could at the district school. No doubt his good father and mother thought that was sufficient for a boy in his circumstances to know, and were glad that he had learned enough to carry on the farm in so little time. But, strange to say, he wished to get more of a bite of the sweet apple of learning, and so he said, What else is there to know? A friend offered to teach him the Latin language. He wanted to learn it, but a grave objection arose. They had no lexicon, and his friend, who was as poor as he, had no money to give him to buy one. Here was an obstacle, indeed, and Theodore's little head was soon at work how to overcome it. We can now imagine how he revolved the difficulty in his mind. We know well that a thought of not getting it finally never got inside of that determined brain of his. He had only one way of making money—to pick huckleberries, and sell them at three cents a quart. Off he went to the pasture, and, after a time, the dictionary, the first book he owned, was his. Let us go to its last resting-place while he owned it, and see what company the book found in its old age.

Open the door—on which is the wooden door-plate, familiar to so many—of the house in Exeter Place, Boston, and go into what is now famous ground. Up the first staircase catch a glimpse of the long parlor papered with rare volumes on a large part of one side, see the "old clock on the stairs"—it has ticked out the lives of many of the family beside him, then up other flights, until you reach the upper story. Brush against the Queen's arm that his ancestor carried on Lexington Green, April 19, 1775, and you stand in a room extending the whole length of the house—Theodore Parker's library. Here, by the back window, stands his desk, on it a manuscript partly in cypher, and partly in handwriting almost as illegible, and two little Parian busts, one of Jesus, and the other of Spartacus. Here is the wooden inkstand, out of the blackness of which, at his master-touch, there sprang so many living, glowing images. It is large and heavy enough to be the very same that Martin Luther threw at the Evil One. Today, we can as plainly see where his ink stained the wall of bigoted prejudice, as the mark made by the older reformer on the wall of the old room in Germany.

Parker used to have a picture of Daniel Webster hanging before him, but one day, in March, of a certain year, he came in, almost in tears, and took it down from its place, never to be returned. But we forgot the dictionary. Here it is. It is not lonely now; it has many thousand companions, written in thirty different languages, all but two of which their owner could read. Essays, biographies, histories, art, science, poetry; ballads of England, Spain, Germany, Ireland, Switzerland, and many another land; dictionaries, gazetteers, and encyclopedias; maps of every clime, from New England to the region of the White Nile; musty black-letter folios bound in vellum, and still fitted with the chains that suspended them in some mediæval monkish cell, side by side with the spruce Washington street issue of to-day; on the floor and chairs, piled three or four deep on the shelves on the walls and alcoves, a labyrinth of literature of which he only held the thread to find the way through. To him they were not visitors, but all intimate friends. Now they are lost in the sea of the Public Library of the City of Boston. Poor unfortunates, when will they ever find such a friend as he again? Most of them must keep their sympathies pent up until they moulder or are eaten by worms. Would that the library had been left forever in its place,—a Mecca for scholars to seek to pay each his devotion to the great mind that gathered them, for

"The silent organ loudest chants
The master's requiem."

Once, when he was asked to preach one of his tender sermons, instead of the terrible invective that was expected from him, in the town to which he was going, he said, "First cut down the great oaks and pines, and then you can plant Indian corn." Theodore Parker was a pioneer in a new world of thought. Alone he stood, and saw, towering far above him, the huge sins, errors, and mistakes that prevented the gentle fruit-trees of humanity and religion from taking root. He said, "This will never do." So he ground his heavy axe to a keenness which many a transgressor knew, and dashed in right and left. Perhaps he might have left a few more trees for shade and ornament than he did. It would have been more comfortable for us peaceful settlers, who follow him far behind; but then they will soon grow again.

He was a brave old Puritan. His very warmth of heart and strength of soul led him to excesses in his denunciation of bigotry and falsehood. Can we judge him, you and I? Can we even see how vast he was? No. Let us try to rear the fruits of Love as faithfully as he tore down the barriers of Fear. He was a man in the fullest sense of the word—human, not divine. He had great faults overbalanced by greater virtues. He was Infidel to every dogma of error and sin, and a Fanatic on every point of freedom, justice, and truth. Widely as many honestly differ from him in his speculative theology, no one can deny him vast erudition, deep religiousness, faultless morality, and conscientious fidelity to great and true reforms and charities. He would never leave any sin unrebuked, allow a poor man or woman to want for bread, deny a trembling fugitive the support of his brave heart and fearless hand, nor let a bright boy need the means to help himself to an education. America needs him now the most, fearlessly to announce the truth—to point the way, over his pulpit at the Music Hall, for her statesmen and Generals to follow.

Have we forgotten him? Shall we forget him? No! not while there is left one of the many weary souls—

"An infant crying in the night—"

who, groping blindly for a better hope and a better life, has felt, in the darkness, his strong hand take theirs, and has heard his tender voice whispering, "Friend, come up higher." Oh, there has been a great void in our hearts, and in the soul of our nation, since Theodore Parker, a modern Samson Agonistes, in the full luxuriance of his matchless intellect, summoning all his unequalled powers, crashed together the massive columns that upheld the temple of error and crime, and fearlessly buried himself in the ruin.—*Monitor.*

## AMERICAN ANTI-TOBACCO SOCIETY.

From The Boston Journal, May 29.

THIS Society held its annual meeting in Mercantile Hall this forenoon, Wendell Phillips, Esq., the President, in the chair. There was a very good attendance.

The proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Thurston of Maine, when the annual report of Rev. Mr. Trask was read by that gentleman. From this it appears that the Society has been in existence for twelve years, and during that time the interest in the cause has been continually increasing, the success last year being particularly marked, and the many points gained being noticed at length. The report gave some hard hits at those who do not favor the efforts of Mr. Trask, and an urgent appeal is made for funds to carry on the work.

After the report had been read, Mr. Phillips expressed the pleasure he felt at seeing so many present at this the second meeting of the Society, and he hoped from this that it was an earnest of the favorable impression the work of Mr. Trask had created. The vice of tobacco-using commences earlier in life in our country than in any other, and it therefore well became us to be the most active in its expulsion from among us. A great deal was said about "muscular Christianity," and this had become quite popular in the form of gymnastics, drill clubs, etc., etc., but he thought that if the advocates of this same muscular development were to look at what operated against it, they would join heartily with the movement for the banishment of the use of tobacco, as among the principal drawbacks. Our country needs robust men, and this use of tobacco is a vice that nips the constitution in the bud, and he was glad so many parents were present to hear this remark. He spoke of the number of sudden deaths in our country from what was fashionably called heart disease, but he regretted to say that in scarcely one case in ten was the true complaint made public, as tobacco and other stimulants were in most of the cases the primary cause of dissolution. He closed by saying that to govern our country we need robust men who live on a wholesome and normal diet, and who need no stimulant more than exercise.

Mr. Edwin Thompson of Charlestown then addressed the meeting, urgently appealing to those present to come forward with pecuniary assistance in aid of the cause.

Hon. Amasa Walker of North Brookfield then offered a couple of resolutions expressive of confidence in Mr. Trask, and thanking him for his exertions in the cause.

A financial committee was then appointed and a collection at once taken up, after which several friends of the cause made brief addresses.

The Society reëlected its officers as follows: Wendell Phillips, President; H. W. Carter, Secretary; Rev. Mr. Trask, Treasurer and Lecturing Agent.

## WHAT "CONTRABANDS" ARE GOOD FOR.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

FREDERICKSBURG, May 25, 1862.

To all who do not believe that loyal blacks have been, and can still be, useful to the army in the highest degree, I would advise an immediate visit to the army of the Rappahannock, and a careful and honest investigation of the facts presented to them, and then, if after such examination, they still remain sceptical, absolute demonstration is of no value whatever to minds created like theirs. Several days since the loyal blacks came in and told the Generals the rebels were preparing to retreat. Their story was, in part, believed, but was not made the basis of action until yesterday, when orders were given to advance a short distance and see if the enemy's pickets were still in sight. The order was immediately put in execution, and the result was, no rebel pickets seen either of infantry or cavalry.

In the evening of the same day, two loyal blacks were brought to the headquarters of Gen. Patrick between a file of soldiers, and upon being interrogated by that most Christian-like gentleman and soldier it has been your correspondent's pleasure to meet, said they were slaves of Capt. Sherman, of Col. Johnson's regiment of rebel cavalry, and had left their master's house at Spottsylvania Court-house that morning upon hearing it reported that they were about to be taken South; that several days before, the rebel infantry all retreated, and but one regiment of cavalry remained to perform picket duty, and that a son of Capt. Sherman told them the entire force in front of Gen. McDowell had been ordered to prepare four days' rations, and to fall back upon the junction with the Gordonsville Road; and further still, that all the bridges were being burned to obstruct the advance of our army.

Upon hearing their story, Gen. Patrick immediately sent them to McDowell, who cross-examined them until he was entirely satisfied that they told the truth. This morning, acting upon the information obtained through these loyal blacks, Gen. Patrick took a battalion of the Harris Light Cavalry and made a reconnoissance in the direction of the enemy's camping-ground.

Before starting, however, he sent for Henry Tyler, an intelligent loyal black slave of the famous, or rather infamous, Alfred Bernard of Fredericksburg, mounted him upon a good horse, put a pair of spurs upon his heels, placed him on his right, and told him he had appointed him as chief aid and guide for the day.

This conspicuous position and sudden promotion rather embarrassed the faithful black at first, but in a few moments your correspondent could not discover, so far as modesty of deportment, and the prompt execution of all orders committed to him was concerned, but what he acquitted himself as well as anyone else upon the staff, and that is saying a great deal, for a more gallant and gentlemanly staff than Gen. Patrick's there is not in the army of the Rappahannock. During the entire reconnoissance Gen. Patrick consulted Henry every few moments with regard to the position of the roads and paths, the names of the occupants of the different dwellings we passed, whether they were loyal or disloyal, the amount of corn on hand, and the number of slaves to consume it, and on many other subjects of value to an officer making a reconnoissance.

Upon seeing how graceful Henry bore his honors and how well he discharged his duties, your correspondent became curious to know more of him—something of his past life or experience. He told me he was born a slave of Alfred Bernard, that he remained with him until about six months ago, when, after the most inhuman treatment, he resolved to be a free man. Being quite the most energetic person on the plantation, he made harangues to the other slaves, and urged them all to strike for their freedom. After much urging and persuading, he at last prevailed upon fourteen to leave, and one dark, rainy night, $14,000 worth of Alfred Bernard's property suddenly disappeared.

Thirteen of the fourteen escaped, and found what they so much prized—their freedom within the lines of the Union army. Henry, after seeing the others safely through, went back—travelled by night through the woods—with the intention of bringing off all the remaining slaves on Bernard's plantation. In this attempt he was discovered. Of course, treatment the most brutal and inhuman followed. The sharp lash of the overseer gashed his back, his wrists were confined in iron handcuffs, and his feet bound together with cords.

In this condition he was sent to a prison in Richmond, then confined in a loathsome dungeon a month with bread and water for food, and then sent to work at the bottom of a coal pit and closely watched. His natural sagacity and shrewdness, however, soon enabled him to devise means to escape. He left the coal pit without a "permit," travelled through the woods by night, and at last reached our lines.

Henry Tyler now has the pleasure of riding by the plantation of Alfred Bernard daily without the least fear of being scourged, handcuffed, and sent to prison. His colored friends on the adjoining plantations, as we passed by them, received him with cheers, the swinging of old hats, and every demonstration of joy they could manifest. Like Wm. Jackson, Jeff Davis's coachman, he is a pure negro, and is not indebted to any of his white brothers for his intelligence.

Capt. Wm. H. Paine, topographical engineer on Gen. McDowell's staff, informed me this evening, that the most valuable information he had been able to obtain with regard to the streams, and the bridges which cross them, the distance from one to the other, the names of the planters who reside on the roads, the villages, hamlets, school-houses, the exact nature of the country, and all that an engineer requires in order to make an accurate map of the country, had been given him by the loyal blacks, who sought protection within our lines.

One man, especially, Dabney Walker, had rendered invaluable service. He gave the distances of the streams from one to the other so accurately that in adding them all up he made a mistake of but two miles from Fredericksburg to Richmond. Capt. Paine also said that he had ceased to employ white men, not finding them accurate, and now had authority from Gen. McDowell to mount twelve negroes and use them constantly in the service.

I have found, says Capt. Paine, the negroes, as a rule, far more intelligent than the poor white folks, and the whole race deserve emancipation simply for the service already rendered, or would have been rendered, if many of our Generals had acted upon the information obtained through them. Says one of the most popular Brigadier-Generals in the army, now the Commander of a division: "Our government has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for secret service, and yet have not obtained as much information of the enemy's movements as eight or ten poor blacks have given them." The name of this General can be given, if necessary.

## STORY OF JEFF DAVIS'S COACHMAN.

From The World, May 29.

JEFF DAVIS'S coachman, named William A. Jackson, addressed an audience composed partly of white and partly of colored people last evening at Zion Church in Sullivan street. It will be remembered, as was represented, that he lately escaped from Richmond, and entered Gen. McDowell's lines.

He said he left Richmond on a Sunday and took about a week to get to the Union lines. He gave a minute description of his adventures on the way. If you ever heard praying, he said, he prayed then, for sometimes he was in a bad place and he couldn't have got along without God being with him, "for he is a mighty good God." As soon as he got to the Union lines he felt strong and fresh, and felt as if he could walk sixty miles. Then he went to Washington, and when he saw the things there he did not wonder that Jeff wanted to get there, but Jeff missed it when he didn't go there from Bull Run. He was nearer there than he will ever be again, unless in irons. He (the speaker) was well treated in Washington, and people were as much amused at him almost as if Jeff himself had been there. The free colored people of the South don't have the opportunity to know anything except what they are told, and yet they always manage to know everything. They all have some idea of what the war is up to. When the Union is settled again by the war, they don't want it to be settled as it was before. He would not give a picayune to live here in the North, but he did not intend to go back while Jeff was there. The slaves down South will fight for the Yankees.

He was the driver for Jeff Davis, being hired from Mrs. Betsy Tyler. He told of much conversation he had with Jeff, Jr., a boy about six years old, who said that Lincoln and Scott were two grand old Yankees, and when his father got to Washington they would have Lincoln's head and Scott's too. "But," said he, "we are a long time getting there, ain't we? Father says we ought to have gone there from Bull Run." Mrs. Jeff always speaks just what she likes. Daniels, the editor of the Richmond *Examiner*, went up to Winchester and got a full report of the battle and put it in the paper, and Jeff was dreadful mad about it, but Mrs. Jeff said he hadn't better make any fuss about it, for they were a queer people there. For her part she didn't like the people; she believed nine-tenths of them would turn out for the Union when the Yankees took the city, for they were certain to take it. The servants could tell when Jeff felt bad by his not saying much. Jeff was very silent when he heard of the second day at Pittsburg Landing. Mrs. Jeff said it was no victory at all, particularly as Gen. Johnston was killed, and she said: "Nobody knows what we have lost but those connected with the government." The fact is the secessionists know they are not going to be successful, "they think they are going to be bigly defeated." Jeff looked very low, after his inauguration, about Donelson. After that, dispatches began to pour in terrible heavy. Gen. Lee was appointed to receive dispatches, for Mrs. Jeff said it was really a pressure on Jeff that would certainly kill him. He used to jump up, just as he had sat down to dinner, on getting a dispatch and not come back to eat any more. He would lie down on the hearth before the fire for a long time, feeling very low. Then the speaker would feel glad. We colored people used to pray every night for the Yankees. If they don't have victory he didn't see the reason; it wasn't because they wasn't prayed for enough. But they were the best secessionists in the world before their masters. The white men say sometimes, "We've got fixed in such a way I wish I'd never seen a nigger." They haven't got much to eat down there. Salt is worth a dollar a pound. Sugar that sold at Washington at eleven cents sells at Richmond at thirty-five or forty cents; tea is six or seven dollars per pound and coffee can't be got. Mrs. Betsy Tyler, the speaker's owner, said she had drunk rye coffee so long it had almost turned her blind. She wished the Yankees would come and raise the blockade. "Oh," said the speaker, "Jeff will raise it pretty soon." "Well, he's been so long about it I know he never will and nobody will but the Yankees." She said she wasn't going to run when the Yankees came, and she hoped they would come quick and put an end to the dreadful war. Jeff, when he hired him (the speaker), gave bonds to return him to his owner December 25, 1862, "I think he'll have a regularly nice time returning me." When the capture of New Orleans was heard of, Mrs. Jeff felt very bad about it. She said all her interest was gone, and she believed the confederacy was about played out. She was riding out and muddy, and asked an officer if it was really true, and he told her it was. Shortly after that she was very cross. "Jackson," she said, "you didn't clean this coach off this morning." "I cleaned it off," he answered, "when we started; but if you say I didn't, of course it is as you say." "Jackson," she said, "I don't like the way the servants treat me; they don't behave to me as if I was the President's wife." He said he tried to. So she continued some time longer. That was Saturday. Sunday he started out of Richmond for the Union lines. He never saw Mrs. Jeff after that.

The story was told in an easy, colloquial style, irresistibly funny, and yet effective. He took great delight in telling how he deceived his master as to his feelings; but his story now appeared to be truthful. He is well-informed, intelligent, and can read and write a little.

## A NARROW ESCAPE.

[*The Tribune* is permitted to copy portions of two letters received from Mrs. ABBY H. GIBBONS of this city, and her daughter, who were at Strasburg as volunteer nurses in the hospitals when the rebel forces marched against that place. The receipt of the first, dated May 20, being followed in a few hours by the telegraphic reports of the attack on Gen. Banks, the family here was without any advice from them for six days, and apprehensions began to be felt that they had fallen into the hands of the Philistines. It will be seen that they had a narrow escape.]

STRASBURG, May 20, 1862.

WE arrived here about noon to-day, having left Winchester at 8 o'clock this morning in an ambulance furnished by the Medical Director, Dr. King. Ambulance-riding is good exercise, but poor pastime. It was hard work to get anybody to take us in, but we finally succeeded by the friendly aid of Dr. Lincoln Stone of Salem, Mass. The lady of the house is still considering whether to send us adrift to-morrow, or not. There are 800 sick here—some very far gone; not a woman to be seen anywhere, and nobody in particular to care whether the men live or die. We are told that half a dozen are buried daily. In some cases, they have wandered out at night in the delirium of fever, and next morning have been found dead in the rain. This is the result, however, of 800 new patients being sent in from Gen. Shields's division, without notice. It was impossible to provide for them comfortably. I can't say much for the town; it is poorly built, strong secesh like every place we have yet seen in this first-family region.

As we approached, a crowd of men from the hospitals gathered round to get sight of a Union woman, a very rare sight south of the Potomac. One of them cried when he saw mother, and said it seemed as if his own mother had come.

Just before we left Winchester, the body of John Brown's son was taken out of the Surgeon's office, where it had been placed in safety, and put into rebel hands—how, nobody knows. They stood it up against the outside of the Medical College, where it remained awhile much to the indignation of our men. They carried it into the College, but subsequently took it out and gave it decent burial. That night the College was set on fire by the rebels, and burned to the ground.

Don't you want to know the price of chivalry down here? Col. ——— heard that a young lady in Winchester was ripping up a Union flag, to turn it into a "secesh." He sent for her, and made her give it up. It was repaired and now floats over the side walk of the Surgeon's house, where it is a great trouble to the Winchester ladies who cross the street rather than walk under it. The other day some of the Maine Tenth seeing one of them coming down the pavement, placed a bright silver Union "quarter" directly under the flag. Miss Secesh came up and stepped off the curb into the street as usual to go round the "dirty rag," but on seeing the piece of money, she retraced her steps, and while she was stooping to pick it up she was greeted